

THE
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ADVERTISEMENTS.

AN APPEAL
IN BEHALF OF THE POOR CHURCHES
IN THE
DIOCESE OF SODOR AND MANN.

AT a period when “the glad tidings of salvation,” are proclaimed from shore to shore, it is deeply to be lamented that any of the subjects of our gracious Sovereign should be destitute of the benefits of Public Worship, and the means of Religious Instruction. Yet such is the condition of a large proportion of the poor in the Isle of Mann. The Population of the Island has of late years increased considerably, and the number of the poor has increased in an equal proportion, whilst the Churches within the Diocese are quite inadequate to the accommodation of such augmented numbers.

The population of the Island is not less than 50,000 souls, and the existing Churches do not afford room for more than about 9,000. In the town of Douglas alone, where the total number of inhabitants amounts to about 7,000, and where the Churches can accommodate but about 1,300, there are no free seats, and 4,000 of the poorer classes, who are professed Members of the Church of England, are excluded, by the want of accommodation within her walls, from joining in her Service. The same deficiency of means exists in several other Parishes of the Island. And it is to be peculiarly lamented, that in a Diocese where a Barrow, a Wilson, and a Hildesley (Prelates whose names deserve to be held in everlasting remembrance), laboured to sow the good seed of Christianity, the efforts of such distinguished men should be thus rendered comparatively unavailing.

The inhabitants of this little Island, though blessed by a kind Providence with various advantages, yet labour under many privations. They enjoy few of the benefits of Commerce and Manufactures. They have little access to the sources of national wealth and prosperity; and few of them possess any other

riches than the riches of contentment. They are consequently much circumscribed in their means, and obviously unable of themselves to meet the great spiritual exigencies of the Diocese.

Under these circumstances, the Bishop of Sodor and Mann has recently applied to the Commissioners for Building, and the Society for the Enlargement of Churches, but the Isle of Mann was found to be neither within the rules of the former, nor the Charter of the latter.

An appeal, therefore, to public liberality, is the last and only resource of the inhabitants of this little Island; and they are induced to make it with the greater confidence, from recollecting the generosity of the British nation towards their ancestors, when they had not, as their descendants now have, a sort of family claim on the affectionate regards of the people of England, by being recently more closely united under the same gracious Sovereign. They appeal to their wealthier neighbours of the United Kingdom in behalf of many thousands of their poor brethren, who desire to join with them in the same Liturgy, to imbibe the same doctrines, and to participate in the same communion. Their object is Christian *unity*, and their appeal is to Christian *charity*.

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XXVII
C. 8

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It is not, however, to be supposed that, since the days of Camden, no literary adventurer has been found of sinew and hardihood sufficient for an encounter with these mighty collections. It is well known that the indefatigable Strype was engaged at an advanced period of his life, in collecting materials for a work like this, and that the Burghley Papers appear to have been among

* Preface, p. xiv.

them. The labours of subsequent compilers have done much towards facilitating and abridging the toil of an author of the present day. Much, however, still remained to be accomplished; so much, that Mr. Lodge, in his *Portraits of Illustrious Persons*, has spoken of it as an extraordinary circumstance, that a life of this great statesman, at all commensurate with the extent of his political fame, had never yet appeared; adding, that the materials for such a work are so abundant, and the theme of such mighty interest, that a life of this minister, combining, on an ample scale, authentic facts and judicious reasonings, would supply, perhaps, the most important deficiency in the whole circle of our historical literature.*

This deficiency the author has taken upon himself to supply, and the ample quarto before us forms only one moiety of his task; and that by far the least important moiety, considered with reference to the principal object of it. It comprises that portion only of Burghley's life which preceded the commencement of his services as the minister of Queen Elizabeth. Previous to the reign of that princess, the life of this statesman was, comparatively, but as a small stream running, for the most part, like a slender thread through the vast regions of European history. But from the accession of his royal mistress to the day of his death, it was as a broad and majestic river, among the grandest objects both in the geography and in the landscape of the surrounding country; giving its chief character to the scenery, imparting fruitfulness to the soil, and sending wealth and power to the remotest provinces. And if it be asked why the former and least momentous department of the work should occupy a space fully equal to that which will be required for the remainder, we must content ourselves with referring to the explanation of the author himself, namely, that to him it appeared impossible to treat of the life of Burghley otherwise than *historically*; that he seems to have been a public man almost from the very beginning; and that he may be considered as bearing a part, and no subordinate, though not always a public and official part, in many of the greatest transactions of the time of Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Queen Mary. In other words, the author has found it expedient to compile an account not merely of the life, but of the times, of Lord Burghley, his biography being "so interwoven with the history of the grand revolution going on in the sixteenth century as to tempt us to say of him, with the difference only of one word, what Florus has said of the Roman people—*Ut qui res ejus legunt, non unius viri, sed generis humani facta discant.*"†

Though we are by no means satisfied of the *necessity* for such

* Preface, p. i. ii.

† Ibid. p. xi.

diffuseness and comprehension of plan, we are but little disposed to quarrel with it. The period in question is among the most important and spirit-stirring in the annals of the human race. There are no recorded transactions, since the first establishment of Christianity, which have left so deep and indelible an impression on succeeding generations. The interest of the subject, therefore, can never be wholly exhausted. We are always ready to listen to an examiner whose labours promise to illuminate any one spot within this vast and awful circuit of inquiry. We are accordingly not unwilling to accept the present portion of Dr. Nares's work, not merely as the personal biography of Cecil, but partly as a narrative of that wonderful revolution which constituted, as it were, the school in which his mind was educated. At any period, and under any circumstances, he must have risen to a distinguished rank among statesmen. But the reformation, or rather the recovery, of religion, and the awakening of the human intellect, after a restless and feverish slumber of ages, formed a crisis in the destinies of man, which was well fitted to call forth his capacities to their fullest developement. And the result, accordingly, was the formation of such a politician as scarcely any former or subsequent age has ever looked upon.

Of the general execution of the work our opinion is, that it indicates very respectable powers, great industry, strict fidelity, and, on the whole, very commendable impartiality; but not such impartiality as that which is indicated by the despicable motto* of that heartless literary man-mercenary, Horace Walpole. This sort of degenerate, ignoble, and traitorous neutrality, the author emphatically disclaims. Such negations, he justly conceives, will furnish no security against dangerous prejudices. He might have gone further, and added, that instead of furnishing security, they actually lay the heart open to prejudices the most odious and destructive. For a man to declare that he is without patriotism, without religion, without social attachment, what is it but to declare that he is without the sympathies which unite us with our kind? What is it but to pronounce on himself a sentence of excommunication? What is it but to proclaim that he is above or below humanity? What is it but to qualify himself for the office of recording the fortunes and vicissitudes of the human race, by avowing a character unworthy of all human confidence? Abjuring this miserable and nauseous affectation of liberalism, Dr. Nares acknowledges, with undisguised pride, that he writes and feels as an Englishman—as an English protestant—as a Church of England man—and as a divine. And having honestly armed his

* Pour être bon historien, il ne faudroit être d'aucune religion, d'aucune pais, d'aucune profession, d'aucune parti.

reader with this caution, he virtually invites him to be on his guard against whatever prepossessions those names may fairly be presumed to imply. By so doing, he much more righteously entitles himself to be trusted, than he could do by professing an indifference of which no high-minded or kind-hearted being ever can be conscious.

With regard to the style of this performance we have little to say, except that the author has succeeded in attaining perspicuity, which he professes to consider the chief object of his ambition.* To any of the higher excellencies of composition the work unquestionably has no claim. It has but little of that vividness of narration,—that vigour of statement,—that power of so marshalling a combination of events that they shall present themselves to the reader in the most instructive and commanding point of view,—little, in short, of that mastery over his materials which constitutes an historian of the first order. The historical disquisitions which occasionally start up appear to us to be somewhat perplexed, generally rather languid and diffuse, and capable of much advantageous abridgment and concentration. Indeed, the whole work might well be compressed within considerably narrower limits without at all weakening its effect, or defrauding the public of any valuable information.

As the public are not generally so familiar with the earlier portion of Burghley's life as with that which mixes itself more intimately with the national history, we may perhaps be rendering an acceptable service to some of our readers by extricating it from the general and comprehensive narrative of Dr. Nares, and presenting them with a brief abstract of it, on the authority of these latest researches. It appears, then, that this celebrated person was born in the year 1520; that he was descended from the ancient and honourable family of the *Sitsilts*, a name which is scrupulously traced by his biographer through all its awful vicissitudes of orthography, till it settled into the permanent and unchangeable form of Cecil. Till he was fourteen years old his education was carried on at Grantham. He was at that early age removed to St. John's College, Cambridge, conformably to the practice of the time, which tended to force young men forward to a prematurity of mental and bodily accomplishment. For we learn from Harding's Chronicle that "they began very early with languages and manners; from ten to twelve were taught music and dancing, and to speak of gentleness! Then they scoured the fields as sportsmen; at sixteen were practised in mock battles, jousting and breaking and riding the war-horse; and at *seventeen* or *eighteen*

* p. xx.

were reckoned fit to enter the world, and to be entrusted with the duties of *men*.”*

With the jousting, and the war-horse, and the scouring the fields, and the mock battles, it is probable that Cecil had very little concern; for we find that his habits at the University were intensely studious and sedentary, and that he contrived to read himself into an obstinate distemper, which settled in his legs, and was supposed to be the origin of the inveterate gout, which tormented him more or less for the rest of his days. By his extraordinary application and proficiency he attracted the attention of the master of his college, who encouraged him by occasional presents of money. He distinguished himself by reading gratuitously what was called the Sophistry Lecture at the age of sixteen, and the Greek Lecture before the age of nineteen. He studied under the direction of the celebrated scholar Cheke, and had the happiness of becoming known to two persons of great future eminence, Matthew Parker, afterwards primate of all England, and Nicholas Bacon, afterwards lord chancellor.

At the age of twenty-one he removed from the University to Gray's Inn. His studies here seem to have been somewhat extensive. A competent acquaintance with the laws and constitution of their country was, at that day, regarded as a very becoming, and almost necessary qualification for young men of family and promise. But, by way of an amusing digression from this main study, Cecil appears to have refreshed himself occasionally with antiquarian research; and, that he might miss none of the delights of that animating pursuit, he busied himself with the collection and arrangement of pedigrees, till at last he obtained the reputation of a most accomplished herald! The knowledge thus amassed was far from useless to him at a subsequent period of his life. It made him acquainted with the history, the intermarriages, the property, and the influence of all the principal families in England; a species of information by no means superfluous to a statesman; and, besides, it gave additional weight to his reputation for sagacity and intelligence, by sometimes showing the members of the aristocracy that he was better versed in the annals and the concerns of their families than they were themselves.

During his residence at Gray's Inn it would appear that he once fell into the sin of gambling. The evil, however, brought its own remedy; for his first venture was so unfortunate, that it reclaimed him for ever from the practice. The history of his own conversion, and that of his fellow-sinner, is worthy of all commemoration, as exhibiting, we believe, the only eruption of

* Nares, p. 22.

merriment which is recorded in the biography of this solemn and venerable personage. We give the narrative in the quaint and racy phrase of the faithful *domestic*, (as he calls himself,) who lived in his house for many years, and who wrote his life.

“ But as his yeres and company required, he wold, many tymes, be merrie amonge young gentlemen, who weare most desirous of his company, for his wittie mirth, and merry temper. Amonge the rest, I heard him tell this merriment of himself.

“ That a mad companion inticed him to plaie, where [upon] in a short tyme, he lost all his monye, beddinge, and bookes, to his companion; having never used plaie before.

“ And being [afterwards] amonge his other companie, he told them how such a one had misled him; saieing he wold presentlie have a device to be even with him.

“ And with a longe tronke, he made a hole in the wall, nere his plaie-fellow's bedde-head, and in a fearfull voice, spake thus thorough the tronke.

“ O mortall man repent! repent of thy horrible time [consumed in] plaie, cousenage, and lewdnesse, or els thou art damned, and canst not be saved!—

“ Which [being spoken] at midnight, [when he was] all alone, so amazed him, as drove him into a sweate for feare.

“ Most penytenant and heavie, the next daie, in presence of the yewthes, he told, with tremblinge, what a fearfull voice spake to him at midnight, vowinge never to plaie againe: and, calling for Mr. Cecill, asked him forgiveness, on his knees; and restored all his money, beddinge, and bookes. So two gamesters weare both reclaimed with this merrie device, and never plaied more. Many other, the like merrie jests, I have hard him tell, to long to be here noted.”—vol. i. p. 59.

Really we recollect nothing like this in the whole history of practical facetiousness, with the exception, perhaps, of a certain equally solemn and equally successful adjuration, delivered, in a similar mysterious manner, to that illustrious commander Commodore Trunnion.* It is whimsical enough to contemplate, for a moment, this mirror of gravity and wisdom as party to a frolic which *might* have furnished a hint to the author of *Peregrine Pickle*!

In the same year that he entered at Gray's Inn he married Mary, the sister of his friend and fellow-collegian Cheke, then Royal Professor of Greek at Cambridge. In that year too (1541) a somewhat singular incident introduced him to the notice of Henry VIII. Happening to be at court one day, for the purpose of seeing his father, who was yeoman or master of the wardrobe to the king, Cecil chanced to meet, in the presence-

* Trunnion, Trunnion, get up and be spliced, or lie still and —, &c. &c.

chamber, with two Romish priests, chaplains of the great Irish chieftain O'Neale, who was at that time in attendance at the court. He immediately began to grapple with these divines, whose stock of theology and Latin appears to have been marvelously frugal. The dispute soon terminated in the utter discomfiture of the respondents, who retired, as may well be imagined, sorely wrathful and malcontent at their public defeat by the hand of a polemic of twenty-one. The affair soon reached the ears of the royal theologue, who doubtless was hugely delighted with the demolition of the two papal doctors, especially if the subject of controversy was,—as Dr. Nares takes for granted,—the supremacy of the Pope. He immediately sent for Cecil, and was so much gratified by his conversation that he offered him his patronage, and speedily granted him the reversion of the office of *Custos Brevium* in the Court of Common Pleas.

In less than two years he lost his first wife; and in 1545 he took for his second wife one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Gyddes Hall in Essex. As Sir Anthony was one of the governors of Prince Edward, this marriage connected him still more closely with the court. In 1547, the first year of the reign of the young king, he succeeded to the office of *Custos Brevium*, which then became vacant, and produced him the substantial addition of 240*l.* to his income. In the same year his reputation for industry, dispatch, and knowledge of business, procured for him the appointment of Master of Requests to the Protector Somerset, an office the duties of which do not appear very clearly defined. According to Strype's account of it, its "intent was to hear poor men's petitions and suits." And it appears that if, "upon examination of their cases, the duke ended not their business, he would send his letters to the chancery in their favour, which some judged to be a stopping the course of the courts, and endeavouring to warp the judges." This unpopular and suspected office Cecil did not hold long. In his hands, however, it became the most regular channel for all applications to the throne, or the executive government; and involved him in a vast variety of correspondence, much of which is extant at this day. It contains a multitude of curious letters addressed to him as *Magister libellorum*; *Protectori à postulatis*, &c., all carefully docketed and indorsed by Cecil or his private secretary.

Being now regularly attached to the protector, he attended him to the battle of Musselborough or Pinkey, in the character of judge marshal. And here the wisest of all possible heads was in very imminent danger. It was almost "miraculously saved by one, that, putting forth his arm to thrust Mr. Cecil out of the

level of the cannon, had his arm stricken off." This was his only experience of military perils: and it is somewhat fearful to reflect how near the realm of England was, at that moment, to the loss of perhaps the only man who could have sustained and guided her with so much glory through the agony of her subsequent difficulties. But for the timely sacrifice of the limb of an unknown individual, a different turn *might* have been given to the destinies of Europe.

To this expedition Cecil brought his accustomed diligence and activity. His eternal pen was constantly at work. He is understood to have furnished W. Patten with the materials of his *Diarium Expeditionis Scoticæ*: and it is most probable that he had a distinguished share in the composition of the state papers issued in the name of the Protector, and addressed to the Scottish government and people.

In 1548 Cecil was advanced to the post of secretary to the Protector, an appointment which, of course, implied that he was much in the duke's confidence. We accordingly find him soon employed in a matter of considerable delicacy and embarrassment. Together with the celebrated Dr. Ridley he was specially commissioned to hold a conference with Gardiner, and to bring him, if possible, to a greater conformity with the view of the government respecting the reformation of religion. On this occasion all his address was unsuccessful. Neither the persuasions of Cecil, nor the authority of the Protector or the council, could prevail upon Gardiner to forbear publicly maintaining the Romish doctrine of the Eucharist, or to approve the exercise of ecclesiastical supremacy by a council of regency during the minority of the king. In a sermon preached by him before the court, he was obstinately silent on the latter of these points; while he produced an elaborate argument in support of the former; and for this contumacy he was committed to the Tower.

When the Protector first fell into trouble, in 1549, Cecil was sent to the Tower, as one of his adherents. He obtained his liberty, however, in three months, and became secretary of state; the administration of public affairs having passed, with the king's knowledge and consent, from the hands of Somerset to those of Northumberland. The suddenness of his release and subsequent elevation have exposed him to the charge of deserting his patron, and receiving his new preferment as the reward of his treachery. To the investigation of this charge, Dr. Nares has devoted rather a merciless length of disquisition; and the result is, that there does not appear to be any reasonable ground for this odious imputation. A high value was set upon Cecil's capacity and application by all parties. In accepting office under the new minister,

he sacrificed no principle, since the change of men produced no change of measures, either in regard to politics or religion. And it is difficult to see why Cecil should be blamed for receiving a public appointment under Northumberland, when Somerset himself was content to accept from the same person, his liberty, and his restoration to a seat in the council, and to give his daughter, Lady Jane Seymour, in marriage to Lord Dudley, the son of his adversary.

It has been said again that the conduct of Cecil to his patron, on the renewal of his calamities, was more consistent with discretion than gratitude. Prudence, it must be confessed, always maintained a high place among the cardinal virtues of Cecil, both in public and in private life. We confess, however, that we are unable to discern why, on this occasion, prudence should have been made to bow before other principles. There is no extant reason for believing that any exertion of Cecil's could have averted, or even mitigated, the fate of the Protector. It is well known that Somerset was a rash and ostentatious mortal: and it was scarcely to be expected that his adherents should place their fortunes, their liberties, and perhaps their lives, in jeopardy, for one who was so miserably wanting to himself. Besides, there was nothing in Cecil's connection with Somerset so peculiar, as to imply an obligation to embrace the most desperate vicissitudes of his fortune; much less to devote himself to destruction without the slightest prospect of preserving his patron. To have done so, would have been little better than an insane and prodigal waste of generosity.

In 1550, Cecil was appointed secretary to the king, with a salary of 100*l.* per annum, and soon after had a reversionary grant of the rectory of Wimbledon, in Surrey, for sixty years. About the same time he was placed on the commission for searching out and punishing Anabaptists and Non-conformists, and was nominated one of a quorum of three, who were authorized to act. In 1551, he was knighted:—"a rare thing,"—says his domestic—"or a sign of rare gifts, for so young a man to be called to such places of honour and estimation."

During the whole reign of Edward VI., Cecil's attention to the affairs of the Church, and the settlement of religion, appears to have been incessant. He was addressed by learned and distinguished foreigners on matters connected with the progress of the Reformation. He was in the commission for revising of the ecclesiastical law, and assisted in the preparation of materials for the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, which was afterwards published in 1571. He was a party to all discussions relative to doctrine and discipline, and was generally in close and faithful

co-operation with Crammer; and to his consideration the Archbishop accordingly submitted the proposed Articles of Religion, previous to their being laid before the Convocation and the Parliament. He may therefore be reckoned among the earliest, as well as the most intelligent and effective labourers, in the construction of our existing fabric of ecclesiastical polity. He is further entitled to the distinguished praise of widening the foundations of the maritime and commercial grandeur of England. It was he that first endeavoured to deliver British commerce from the oppression of foreign monopoly; and though his measures may not always have been concerted upon those enlightened views which subsequent experience, and improved intelligence, have now rendered familiar, it is no mean glory to have given almost the first impulse to the public opinion and feeling, relative to interests of such overpowering magnitude. In 1553, shortly before the death of the king, his services were rewarded with additional honour and emolument, by his appointment to the office of Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, with an annual salary of 100 marks. It may be remarked, that the language of the patent is a complete answer to the stupid calumnies with which his adversaries sometimes endeavoured to disparage the respectability of his birth. He is described as worthy of the honour conferred on him *GENE-RIS CLARITATE, morum probitate, et rerum variarum scientiâ*.

Not long after this accession to his distinctions, Cecil found himself involved in difficulties which demanded all the resources of his sagacity and address. The health of Edward VI. began visibly to decline, and the flagitious designs of Northumberland to develope themselves. Of these intrigues he obtained seasonable notice through the good offices of a friend: and the intelligence alarmed him to such a degree, that as seamen make all snug when they foresee a squall, he caused his money, plate, and writings, to be removed out of his house in London; and when he found the project advancing, he even went armed, and actually conveyed all his lands to his eldest son Thomas. Nay, according to his own account, when the conspiracy was first opened to him he fully determined to flee the realm; and was retained only by the perusal of the Dialogue of Plato, "where Socrates, being in prison, was offered to escape and flee, yet he would not." When the scheme of Northumberland was, at last, brought to maturity, and a patent obtained from Edward for altering the succession, the members of the council were required to sanction this instrument with their signatures; and this concession was extorted by the dread of vengeance, even from those who were most averse to the transaction,* and from Cecil among the rest. By this com-

* Macdiarmid, p. 176.

pliance considerable damage was inflicted on his reputation, which he long afterwards thought it necessary to repair by a memorial, wherein he asserts that threats and promises were employed in vain to extort his concurrence in the attempt; that he refused to subscribe the patent as a privy counsellor; and that he was at length prevailed upon by the king's earnest entreaty to write his name as witness to the royal signature. It also appears that on the death of Edward he refused to draw up the proclamation, declaring the title of the Lady Jane, or to write in its vindication.* To the investigation of this matter Dr. Nares devotes a vast number of tiresome pages: but all his researches lead only to the conclusion, that Cecil, and the whole council, were fairly bullied and run down by the desperate violence of Northumberland, who declared that he was ready to fight in his shirt with any man who should question the proceeding. It is very easy for us, who live in an age when trials and dangers of this description are no longer to be feared, to figure to ourselves the magnanimity of an inflexible resistance to the ambitious designs of bold, sanguinary, and powerful men. It must however be remembered, that in those days, as Fuller observes, *it was present drowning not to swim with the stream*. Opposition to this wild scheme of usurpation would probably have ended only in the destruction of all who should have ventured upon it, and this without much hastening the defeat of the project; while, on the other hand, it must have been pretty evident to all discerning minds, that the attempt, if left to its own course, could scarcely terminate in any thing but the ruin of its author. Such, at all events, must surely have been the views of the Popish members of the council who set their hands to the patent, and who nevertheless hastened to Mary, as soon as they were able to do so, after the death of the king; and such in all probability were the views of Cecil, when he was prevailed upon to join them in giving his sanction to the act.

With regard to Cecil's allegation, that he signed the patent not as privy counsellor, but merely as a witness to the signature of the king, it will be instantly seen that little weight can be attached to this statement, unless it could be shown that his signature was different from the rest, either in place or form. If there was nothing on the face of the patent to apprise the public that his name appeared there merely in the way of official countersign, it would contribute equally with the others to the sanction of that instrument. Neither is there anything very satisfactory in the assertion of his refusal to prepare the proclamation for setting forth the succession of Lady Jane; for it does not appear that he grounded his refusal on the enormity of the transaction, but that

* Macdiarmid, p. 177, &c.

he declined on the score of his own unfitness for the office, which required, he said, the skill of an experienced lawyer; a plea which reminds us of the discretion of the fox, who, when asked by the potentate of the forest whether or not his breath were offensive, replied that *truly he had a cold, and could not smell*. In short, there can be little doubt that Cecil in his heart both dreaded and abhorred, and, to a certain point, opposed the enterprise of Northumberland; but that he was at last borne away from the straight course of duty by a current of circumstances, almost too strong even for the highest fortitude to resist.

We cannot quit this part of our subject without adverting to a very curious circumstance noticed by Dr. Nares, illustrative, as it would seem, of the nefarious craft and wickedness of Northumberland. It is unquestionable, that some time before his death, Edward had proposed to the privy council the principle of a positive exclusion of females from the English throne. It is further most certain, that a "device" or scheme was drawn up by him in his own handwriting, conformably to these notions, for the document is preserved in the Petyt MSS. and is printed by Burnet and Strype.* In this paper he had provided for the descent of the crown to the male issue of himself, or of the *Suffolk* line. From the same MSS. Burnet and Strype have also printed a document† purporting to be the original assent of the council to this limitation of the crown, signed by twenty-four counsellors, and among them by *Cecil*. This document expressly refers to the *device* above-mentioned, as having been seen by the parties whose names are underwritten. On looking, however, at the *device* itself, we find that its provisions, as they respect the Lady Jane, differ from those which relate to the other females of the family by two little words, which yet make a mighty alteration in the arrangement. The language runs thus—"for lack of issue of my body.....to the Lady Fraunceses (the Duchess of Suffolk's) heirs males, if she have any such issue before my death." Now after this we should naturally expect the next clause to stand thus:—*to the Lady Jane's heirs masles*:—but instead of this, the instrument proceeds as follows,—“to the Lady Jane *and her* heires masles,”—then—“to the Lady Katerin's heires masles, &c.:" thus making a distinction in favour of Lady Jane, by limiting the crown *to her in person*, before it should descend to her male issue: a distinction contradictory to the whole spirit of the *device* alluded to, as appears clearly from the language with which that paper begins, and which purposes that the descent should be, “for lack

* Burnet, part iii. book iv. No. 10, 11.

† Strype's *Cranmer*, Append. 164.

of issue male of my body, to the issue male coming of the issue *f  male*, as I have after declared."

An inspection of the instrument, in the printed copies of it, furnishes no explanation whatever of this strange and unaccountable inconsistency. Fortunately, however, it occurred to Dr. Nares to examine the MS. itself;* and there he found, to his surprise, that Edward had originally written, what the tenor of the instrument would lead us to anticipate, "*to the Lady JANE's heires masles*," conformably to all the other cases; but that the letter *s* had been struck out with the pen at the end of *Jane*, and that the two little but most important words—"and her"—were inserted above; the passage standing exactly thus—"to the Lady

and her
Janes [^] heires masles."

Now in all this it must be allowed that there is a great appearance of foul play. One cannot but strongly suspect that this alteration (by which Lady Jane *alone*, of all the females of the line of *Suffolk*, was personally brought into the direct line of inheritance) was effected by the sinister influence and contrivance of Northumberland. How the king should be prevailed upon to consent to an alteration which partially defeated his own views of male succession, it were now vain to conjecture. Neither does it appear whether this alteration were made at the time when the above subscription of the twenty-four was executed; though it is most probable that it *was*, because that document affirms that the device was first wholly written with his majesty's most gracious hand, and afterwards copied out in his majesty's presence, and authenticated by his signature. Possibly the slight variance of phraseology may have escaped the attention of the council; if not, they must have been persuaded to acquiesce on the ostensible ground that there was then little probability of *any* male heir whatever previous to the king's decease; and that in such case the public interests would be better provided for by a limitation, in the first instance, to Jane in person, than by a regency vested in the Duchess of Suffolk or her daughters—which last was the provision made for that case in the original scheme of the king; and which, though afterwards *dashed out*,† is yet legible on the face of that instrument. After all, however, the affair still remains involved in considerable mystery, and leaves the parties concerned with little excuse, except that which may be derived from the dangerous and violent spirit of the times.

After the death of the king, Cecil, with the rest of the council,

* Nares, p. 452.

† See Burnet, vol. iii. book iv. Records No. 10, p. 207, edit. 1715.

found himself absolutely in the power of Northumberland. It would seem that they owed their escape chiefly to the subtlety and address of Cecil, at whose suggestion they first persuaded Northumberland that his presence was absolutely necessary among the forces which had been levied for their support, and when he had left the Tower, where they were all effectually confined, they easily satisfied the Duke of Suffolk that the exigencies of the cause would require their presence elsewhere. No sooner were they at liberty than they repaired to the Earl of Pembroke's, at Baynard's Castle, and declared openly for Queen Mary.

The letter sent by them to the queen is still in existence,* and indorsed by Cecil. The vindication it offers is, that the parties saw "no possibility to utter their determination, *without great destruction and bloodshed, both of themselves and others*, tyll that time;" an excuse, as Dr. Nares remarks, which, if admitted, must acquit all or none, but which, nevertheless, did not protect all from the resentment of the queen. Of those, however, who obtained their pardon, Cecil had the good fortune to be one; and such was the general estimate of his capacity for business, that the queen was anxious to retain him in her service, and accordingly tendered to him the appointment of secretary, which he had hitherto held—an offer which his attachment to the Reformed Faith prompted him decidedly to reject.

The disquiet occasioned by his implication with these "inductions dangerous" probably brought on a transitory fit of dissatisfaction with the slavery of a public life, for the death of the king is thus recorded by him in his journal: "vii Julii, 1553. *Liberatam adeptus sum morte Regis; et ex MISERO AULICO, factus sum liber et mei juris.*" During the reign of Mary this *miserable courtier* was allowed the unmolested enjoyment of the privacy he sighed for. His high character and distinguished services entitled him to consideration; and his discretion was watchful against any dangerous use of the indulgence which was granted him. He now passed a very considerable portion of his time in retirement. He zealously cultivated and encouraged botany, and promoted the introduction of foreign seeds and plants. He immersed himself in the care and management of his property. His capacities, no longer absorbed in affairs of state, diffused themselves into all the details of domestic life. The microscopic powers of his mind seem to have been quite extraordinary. He could turn aside from the vast and colossal interests of Europe, to look into the fractions and the atoms of domestic and agricultural expenditure. He resembled the elephant, who, with equal ease, can

* Strype's *Cranmer*, App. No. lxxi. vol. ii. p. 915.

strangle a buffalo or pick up a needle. The entries in his household-book are, in their way, nearly as wonderful as his state papers. Hatfield House and the British Museum are, at this day, full of memorials of his almost incredible attention to such matters. They are crammed with his correspondence to his managers and stewards, and with his marginal commentaries and scholia respecting rents, and wages, and liveries; the felling of timber and the letting of farms; the fees and payments in kind to brewer, baker, and butcher; the supply of his family with malt and beer; with beef and mutton; with herrings, both red and white; with salmon and stockfish; with frying oil and vinegar; with soap, and candles, and white pease; and, in short, with every imaginable article of human consumption. Nothing seems more marvellous, and more difficult to conceive, than this faculty of being equally at home in the midst of little things and of great ones. One would suppose that an intellect conversant with the destinies and the vicissitudes of empires must inevitably contract a fastidious impatience of all humble and obscure concerns. The truth, however, is, that minds of the very highest capacity have often a versatile activity and self-command quite as surprising as their massive strength; and that no man is *eminently* fit for the direction of great public interests who cannot unite to a commanding amplitude of view an indefatigable application to particulars. The domestic precision and watchfulness of Cecil may justly be regarded as among the indications of a character which seems to have been graciously raised up by Providence for the preservation of the British empire.

But although Cecil declined the service of the Queen, and kept himself clear of the cabals and agitations of party, he by no means appears to have so wrapped himself up in his own individual virtue as to exclude all care and anxiety for public interests. His presence in England was, beyond question, of great importance to the cause of the Reformation. He was enabled to render occasional services to that cause, without exciting the jealousy or the resentment of the court. He attached himself to the party of Cardinal Pole, from whom he had reason to expect more moderation, perhaps more humanity, than from the austere, ambitious, and worldly-minded Gardiner. In 1555, having been chosen one of the members of parliament for Lincolnshire, he ventured to join in the opposition to the measures of the court, and to speak fearlessly and strongly against the confiscation of the property of those who had fled their country for religion. His public spirit on this occasion brought him into considerable danger. He was summoned before the council, but contrived to place his conduct in such a light that he was discharged by their

unanimous consent. But the most signal service which he rendered to his country, during his retirement from office, was his vigilant attention to the safety and the interests of the Lady Elizabeth, with whom he maintained a constant intercourse and correspondence. His communication with that princess during the reign of Mary may be considered as among the greatest triumphs of his dexterity and circumspection. Few men then living, except Cecil, could have contrived, under circumstances of such extreme peril and difficulty, to convey to the future queen the intelligence necessary to her preservation from the snares of her suspicious and vindictive sister.

With regard to the religious habits of Cecil, it appears beyond all doubt that, under Mary, he lived in outward conformity with the existing Church Establishment. He had in his household a priest; and a paper is still in existence, in the State Paper Office, by which it appears that he confessed, and probably attended at the mass. This paper bears Cecil's own indorsement, and is as follows:—

“The names of them that dweleth in the pariche of Wimbledon, that was confessed, and resaved the sacrament of the altre.

“My Master, Sir Wilyem Cecil, and my Lady Myldread his wyffe.” Then follow the other names; Thomas Cecill, their eldest son, standing next.

By this conformity Cecil brought upon himself considerable obloquy. In vindication of it, Dr. Nares produces the example of those Protestants who, with Melanchthon at their head, conformed to the Interim; and of the moderate, amiable, and conscientious Bishop Tonsal, who conformed to every religious innovation, when once established by law, from a scrupulous principle of submission to the powers that be, and from the belief that private opinion should always be sacrificed for the preservation of public peace. He further alleges, that the point once underwent a formal discussion between Lethington and Knox, and that the conclusion of those sturdy reformers was, that, under certain circumstances, a sort of submission is allowable.

“Knox had argued, that the *people of God* were bound to put down idolatry, and root out idolaters, without reserve or exception. When *Lethington* stated that *Calvin*, and some others of the foreign Reformists, had counselled their followers to be quiet and submissive, even under persecution, Knox very truly and wisely observed, that this referred to Christians so dispersed as to have no other resource, but only to sob to God for deliverance. That such, indeed, he continues, ‘should hazard any farther than these godly men will them, I could not hastily be of counsel. But my argument has another ground; for I speak of a people—unto whom God has given *sufficient force*, not only to *resist*, but to

suppress all kind of *open idolatry*; and such a people, I again affirm, are bound to keep their land clear and unpolluted."—pp. 675, 676.

The benefit of this decision is claimed by Dr. Nares in favour of Cecil, and other Protestants, upon the ground that they were, at this time, but a severed and dispersed people as to all *power* of putting down the Romish idolatry. Without entering into a disquisition on this perplexed case of conscience, we cannot forbear to remark that, if this view of the question had been universal, there would have been nothing but conformity throughout the realm; and, in that case, the Protestant Church of England would have been bereft of the glory and the might with which the martyrdom of her bishops and pastors has surrounded her. We do not take upon ourselves to pronounce a stern judgment on Cecil, and on those who, like him, bowed before that necessity which could not be openly resisted without imminent danger of destruction. It is, nevertheless, impossible to suppress a feeling of thankfulness and of triumph that there were many, at that day, who formed a higher and nobler estimate of their duty.

After all, however, it would be unjust to the memory of Cecil to omit the suggestion, that the evidence above produced, of his conformity to the Romish doctrines, is hardly sufficient to fix upon him the charge of insincerity. There were indisputably many persons at that time who had wholly abjured Popery, so far as that system implied an admission of the temporal or spiritual supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and who yet had failed to settle their convictions on many points of the Romish theology. It is, for instance, by no means perfectly clear to us that Cecil grievously violated his conscience by receiving the sacrament conformably to the Romish doctrine and ritual. The belief of the "real presence" doubtless still kept possession of many minds of the first capacity; and we are far from certain that it may not have lingered in his. Of this we are distinctly informed—that to the very last he was anxious to have the question of the mass finally disposed of rather by argument than by force; and that, even after the death of Mary, he was mainly instrumental in having it submitted afresh to regular disputation between the opposite parties, previous to its abrogation by Elizabeth. And, even then, the Communion Office was so framed as to offer the least possible violence to the prejudices of those who still held the tenet of the "real presence" in the Romish sense of those terms.

Such is the outline of Cecil's life up to the period of Queen Mary's decease; and on looking back upon it, we do not discover that the laborious researches of Dr. Nares have enabled him to throw much new or valuable light on the immediate biography of this eminent person. There are in this volume few particulars of

any great importance respecting him, that might not be learned from the compendious and spirited life of him by Macdiarmid. We do not mention this with any view to the disparagement of the author's compilation, which, as we have already remarked, must principally be regarded as a collection of materials illustrative of the times in which this distinguished statesman was formed, and to which recent discussions and changes have given an unusual vividness of interest. It is true that Dr. Nares has done what he could to present Cecil as a prominent figure on his crowded canvass. After all, however, it must be confessed that the influence of that extraordinary man was, at that time, scarcely sufficient to place him at the centre of those mighty movements of the age. His agency, though certainly considerable, was not as yet sufficiently commanding to give him a very distinct position of his own, and to bring him forward, in bold relief, from the multitude of figures with which the comprehensive plan of his biographer has inevitably surrounded him. Of this, indeed, Dr. Nares himself appears to be occasionally conscious; for whenever he finds himself unable to expand the importance of his hero to the full extent of the vast sphere of British and European politics, he satisfies himself by assuring us, that all this while such a man as Cecil must have been watchfully and sagaciously contemplating the whole scene of action; that he must have been furnishing his own mind with lessons of wisdom derived from the various and complex evolutions which were perpetually executed before his eyes; and that consequently every history of his mind or of his actions must be imperfect, which should fail to present the whole conflict of interests and passions, in the midst of which he was training his powers for their future course of achievement. Whenever, therefore, we would connect him with events from which he was apparently removed, we have only to fancy him in his retirements surveying the signs of the times with an aspect of fathomless wisdom, and shaking his head—as head never was shaken before or since—with unutterable pregnancy of meaning. In that contemplative occupation, therefore, we may now venture to leave him, and to transfer our attention to certain regions in the history before us which may be supposed to interest most forcibly the feelings of every sincere and zealous Protestant.

To this period, which involves the great moral revolution, it is always impossible to return without an awful and distressing conflict of feelings. It is doubtless a period to rejoice over; but then we must always rejoice over it with trembling. It is a period which cannot be contemplated without the deepest thankfulness; but then our gratitude and elation of heart are perpetually dashed with a sense of bitter humiliation. What can be more glorious

than the deliverance which was accomplished? What can be more execrably sordid than a portion of the instrumentality by which that deliverance was wrought? Is it possible, in the first place, to think of that bloated tyrant, who "spared no man in his wrath, and no woman in his lust;" whose life, for the last ten or twelve years of it, was one incessant outrage on humanity, one perpetual "sounding of all the depths and shoals" of his people's slavishness,—is it possible to think, without loathing and indignation, of that prodigy of despotism, as the prime ruler and director in this great religious change? Is it not overpowering to reflect that the savage caprice and ungoverned animal propensities of this monster should have given the first impulse to so wondrous and holy a movement? Is it not almost frightful to recollect that the banner of deliverance from spiritual vassalage should have been lifted by hands red with blood, and polluted with rapacity and sacrilege? nay, that if his vices had been less gigantic, and his strength of purpose less tremendous, we might, perhaps, have been at this moment even as other lands which have never won their spiritual freedom, and which are *made spoil of either by philosophy or by vain deceit*—either by secret scepticism, or by gaudy and painted superstition. We never surely can think of these things without being almost shaken to pieces with the reflection—without feeling an alternate elevation and sinking of the heart to which words can scarcely give utterance. It is triumphant to think upon the eminence on which we stand; but it is most appalling to look back on the terrors and the dangers, the struggles and the humiliations, through which it was attained. Never in human annals was the truth so signally exemplified, that God can cause the wrath of man to praise him; and not only his wrath, but his follies and his crimes, his most wanton caprices, and his deadliest atrocities. A hurricane may sweep away the pestilence from a tropical atmosphere,—a tyranny like that of Henry may, almost as unconsciously, sweep away the moral corruption which has been gathering for centuries.

We must confess that we can see neither wisdom nor honesty in averting our eyes from this view of the matter. We cannot imagine that the cause of the Reformation imposes on English Protestants the sore and desperate task of vindicating, or of palliating, the abominations of this brutal oppressor; of a wretch who hanged the adherents of Romish power, and burned the adversaries of Romish doctrine; who dragged Papists and Sacramentaries to execution on the same hurdle; who stripped the Pontiff of his authority only that he might bring it home, to bear with a closer and more deadly pressure on his own subjects, and might enjoy the savage delight of wheeling round their heads the spiritual as well

as the temporal blade. The pontifical writers are perpetually reproaching us with this. They affect to speak of the Reformation as a portentous mixture of error and crime, in which Henry was the principal, and the court, the parliament, and the people were the accessaries. They load it with all the sins of its flagitious author, and call upon us to return from an apostasy rendered doubly detestable by the wickedness of its leader. And on hearing these rebukes, we are sometimes tempted to soften the enormities of the royal *heretic*, and the vile hypocrisy and turpitude of many of his creatures. But this is not the way to encounter the assaults of our adversaries. We may safely surrender to their scorn or their abhorrence many of the leading agents in our righteous revolt from Papistry. It is vain, and worse than vain, to attempt to derive either dignity or merit to the cause, from the motive which first drove it violently towards its consummation. Why should the rack of controversy be produced to extort from us the unqualified confession of this plain truth—that if the Eighth Henry had been a man to remain content with his brother's widow, we might possibly at this hour be stupifying or maddening ourselves, as of old, with the cup of Babylonian sorcery; that the peasantry of England might be as degraded and priest-ridden a herd as the peasantry of Ireland, and the allegiance of her people divided between the rightful monarch and an Italian priest. That these things are not so, is a magnificent and blessed result, which we are bound to receive with adoring gratitude at the hand of a mysterious Providence. But why should we seek to disguise the fact, that this result has emerged out of a conflict of the most turbulent and disgraceful passions, but that the Spirit of God brooded over this strife of elements, and that the Word of Omnipotence said *let there be light, and there was light*. Surely it is better to say at once, *this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes*, than to be spinning apologies and palliations for men who were blindly working out the purposes of the Almighty, often without a thought for his glory, or a care for the virtue or the happiness of his people.

Again, who can survey without anguish and disgust the hateful system of spoliation which entered into the scheme of reform in which Henry led the way; which was followed with disastrous fidelity by those who co-operated with him, and by those who came after him; and which has reduced the Church of England to a state of comparative beggary* and humiliation. One might

* We say this advisedly, in spite of the invectives we sometimes hear against the Church as a gorgeous nuisance. If all its wealth were now thrown into a consolidated fund, it would be found, on an equal distribution, to give little more than a pittance to each of its ministers. The spirit of rapacity which was abroad in those days was un-

almost laugh (as Dr. Nares observes) at Henry's sly instructions to Sir Ralph Sadler, in which the sagacious diplomatist is enjoined to give the Scottish monarch a relish for the plunder of the monasteries; and thus to excite in his royal nephew a craving appetite for *Reformation*. But the matter is far too serious and too calamitous for merriment, when we come to reflect that this was but part of a regular system, which in this country transferred to an unprincipled and dissolute aristocracy the funds which ought to have been held sacred to the intellectual, moral and religious improvement of the people.

"The impropriation of the tythes of benefices," says Dr. Nares,* "left so little for ministering clergymen, that it is upon record that in many parishes there was scarcely enough left to buy bread for the incumbents and their families, for it was among the *anomalies* of this ecclesiastical revolution, that the reduction of beneficiary incomes accompanied the abolition of clerical celibacy."

And hence the bitter pleasantry with which Collier represents the consequences of this blessed change.

"When the tythes were taken away in many places, and the parish duties (fees) lessened, they had the freedom of engaging in a more expensive way of living. When the revenues were cut short 'twas at their option to increase their charge. They had an opportunity of wanting more things, where the means of procuring them was more slender than ever. Thus they had liberty without property; they might, if they pleased, be legally undone and starve by act of parliament."

Who again can read, without feeling his blood boil, such passages as the following, which is produced by Dr. Nares as the commentary of one Brinklow, a London merchant, whom Holinshed puts in his list of learned writers of those times, and who thus deplores the effects of this detestable rapine.

"It was amisse that monkes should have parsonages in their hands, and deal but the twentieth part thereof to the poor, and preached but once in the year to them that paid the tithes of the parsonages. It was amisse that they scarcely among the twenty sat not one sufficient vicar to preach for the tithes that they received. But see now how that was amisse is amended for all the godly pretense. It is amended even as the

discriminating. It disdained no game, whether great or small. It spared neither the lordly abbot nor the humble vicar. We may find a potent representation of this spirit (which is of all ages) in the following lines of Juvenal, though of course under pagan images.

"Confer et hos, veteris qui tollunt grandia Templi
Pocula adorandæ rubiginis, et populorum
Dona, vel antiquo positas a rege coronas.
Hæc ibi si non sunt, minor extat sacrilegus, qui
Radat inaurati femur Herculis, et faciem ipsam
Neptuni, vel bracteolam de Castore ducat.
An dubitet, solitus totum conflare Tonantem?"

devil amended his dame's legge (as it is in the proverb); when he should have set it right, he brake it quite in peeces. The monkes gave too little almes, and sat unable persons many times in their benefices; but now where twenty pounds was given yearly to the poor, in more than an hundred places in England, is not one meal's meat given; this is a fair amendment! Where they had always one or other vicar, that either preached or hired some to preach; now there is no vicar at all, but the farmer is vicar and parson altogether; and only an old cast-away monk or friar, which can scarcely say his mattins, is hired for xx or xxx shillings, meat and drink, nay, in some places, for meat and drink alone, without any wages; I know, and not I alone, but twenty thousand more know, more than five hundred vicarages and parsonages thus well and *gospelly* served after the *new gospel* of England."—p. 383.

In short, to such a flagitious extent was the plunder carried on, that to us it seems an almost miraculous mercy that it did not end in the utter destruction and dissolution of the establishment, and leave the kingdom to be torn to pieces by the whole legion of non-conformity and sectarianism. It is, indeed, suggested by Dr. Nares,* that the covetousness of man at that time was an instrument in the hand of Providence to prevent the relapse of the Reformed Church into Popery; and there doubtless may be much truth in the statement. Had there been no transfer of ecclesiastical property to laymen, many of whom were profoundly indifferent to all religion, there might not have been raised an embankment of self-interest strong enough to stand against the reflux of Romish influence and power. But when we perceive that the lust of confiscation was so insatiable and rabid as nearly to extinguish all care for the spiritual interests of the people, or the decent comfort and respectability of the great body of its ministers, it is enough to make mankind look with sickening contempt at the early *process* of the Reformation, and almost to call down curses upon the worldly and godless spirit in which the work was often carried on by the civil powers.

The accession of that extraordinary child, Edward VI. did not arrest this career of robbery; and of all the demons of pillage none was more thoroughly steeped in sacrilegious infamy and guilt than the *good Duke of Somerset*, the Regent and Protector of England, the man who was to carry forward the noble work of reformation during the minority of his royal nephew—the man who set Cecil at Gardiner, when that intractable prelate persisted in questioning the authority of a Council of Regency to proceed with a change in the ecclesiastical system of the country. It is well known with what a high hand he gave the signal to the obscene birds of prey, when his own rapacity and pride spared neither churches nor sepulchres—the oratories of the living nor

* Page 495.

the asylums of the dead—and when the venerable Abbey of Westminster was scarcely rescued from his accursed grasp. And how fatally and widely infectious such examples were, we may learn from the fact, that even Cecil did not scruple to swell his property with the produce of this unholy plunder; and that if the church were now to receive back her own, the princely domains of his noble house would, probably, suffer a grievous reduction of its splendour. Nay, what is still more confounding, Elizabeth herself—the very child and virago of the Reformation—was in this respect no better than a harsh and unfeeling step-mother to the reformed church; for there is much bitter and galling truth in the remark, that if her sister made martyrs, she made beggars; that the one executed men, the other estates; that the one destroyed bishops, the other bishoprics; and that if the one persecuted the church by fire and faggot, the other helped to entail upon the church the inheritance of a perpetual and hopeless poverty.*

All this while too, be it remembered, the voice of an intrepid testimony was perpetually lifted up against the impiety and inhumanity of this ruthless dilapidation. The court was openly, and to their very face, charged with these profanations by the preachers of the day. In his plain and homely phrase, old Latimer denounced the heartless rapacity of the great, and exposed its pernicious consequences. The remonstrances of the admirable Ridley were equally bold, and in one instance much more successful. His appeal made so deep an impression on the heart and conscience of the youthful monarch, that they ended in the establishment of those glorious charities which to this day make the name and memory of Edward VI. so dear to England, and especially to her metropolis. On the whole, however, the mischief done, and the opportunities of good impiously thrown away, are enough to make the real friends of the cause redden with indignation; they are enough almost to give the appearance of a vile and despicable job to the grandest and most wonderful of all revolutions. Well might Collier say, that—

“ If the English laity had not enriched themselves with the spoils of the Church, the Reformation would have had a *clearer complexion*, and been better understood by the rest of Christendom. But when Protestantism had such a face of interest; when men got manors and townships by renouncing the Pope; when men of small pretensions made estates out of their orthodoxy, and shot up into title and figure; when the Church was stripped of her revenues and maimed in her jurisdiction; when changes in religion were carried on by revolt and civil commotion, (as it happened in France, Scotland, and the Low Countries);—when

* See pref. to Burnet, vol. iii.

they saw discipline laid asleep, learning decay, and *liberty increase*,—these were discouraging circumstances.”

So calamitously discouraging were they, that they loaded the cause with dishonour at that time, and have strengthened the hands and hardened the hearts of its adversaries even unto this day.

We maintain, therefore, that the final results of the religious revolution in this country must always appear little less than absolutely miraculous. It seems as if Providence had gathered nearly all the vices of human nature into one dreadful scourge wherewith to lash the pride which had so long been trampling upon the liberties of man's immortal spirit; as if the dogs of rapine, and lust, and tyranny, were purposely unkennelled and unchained, and let slip to fix their fangs upon the throat of that monster of imposture, that for ages had sucked the very marrow of kings, and to drag her to the earth. And yet, out of all this turmoil and havoc has eventually sprung up the system under which we now live, and which has made our country the asylum and the sanctuary of Christian truth. That our reform was *conceived in sin* it would be most unjust and ungrateful to maintain; for undeniably the seeds of it were scattered long before the days of Henry. But when we look to its mightiest leaders and patrons, we feel almost compelled to avow that it was cradled in iniquity, and “nursed in baseness.” We hardly know of any thing whereunto to liken it, unless it be to a lamb suckled by a wolf, or a dove warmed into life by the incubation of a ravening vulture: and, in truth, it seemed at times as if the foster-parent was ready to devour its adopted progeny. And when we come to inquire how it is that the new establishment survived the tender mercies of its protectors; how it was preserved in the midst of dangers which seemed every moment to threaten it with destruction, we shall find ample reason for adoring the wisdom and the goodness, which often causes the most formidable evils to correct each other, and to give to the results some intermediate and most beneficial direction. It has been affirmed, and truly enough, that politicians and not divines had the most potential voice in the first formation of our Protestant Church. The impulse which led to her establishment came unquestionably from the *high places* of the land. The sovereign was constantly at the head of all the changes; and thus it was that the vices and the passions of a dissolute and semi-barbarous court were seen to busy themselves more or less in the settlement of the national faith and worship. But then, on the other hand, this very circumstance, (which imparts, it must be allowed, something of a physiognomy of worldliness to the whole proceeding—which to this day is perpetually in the mouth of the adversaries of our church when they take up their taunts

against her,)—this very circumstance was graciously and most signally overruled for good. In the midst of manifold evils, it was attended with one redeeming consequence. The perpetual inspection and superintendence of secular persons was probably instrumental in repressing the enthusiasm which might otherwise have thrown too much heat into the work, and burst it into fragments before it was complete. The moderation which resulted from this state of things, and which is impressed so remarkably on the whole face of the system, is a blessing which never can be too highly estimated. It is to this that the stability of the fabric is, under Providence, mainly to be ascribed. Fanaticism contains within itself the seeds of degeneracy and decay. The selfishness, the ambition, the avarice, the rapacity which stood by, while the charm was winding up, contributed at least to prevent the introduction of that pernicious ingredient. And thus they helped, almost unconsciously, to do for the great cause one of the most important of all good offices. They helped to prevent its being tainted by an infusion, which would have rendered it distasteful and odious to the intelligent, and highly dangerous to the moral and spiritual health of the community.

If, however, we would fix our regards on the true channel by which the Divine blessing was derived to this grand achievement, where should we look but to those who, in the estimate of the world, are called its subordinate agents and ministers? Where should we look but to the doctors, and the martyrs, and the confessors of the English Church? We have recently been told that the Reformation in England displayed but little of that which had been its glory in other lands. But these are words of vanity and of slander. There is no country in Europe which has brighter instances to produce of “free-spoken truth,” and of singleness of purpose, and of faithfulness unto death. And what if these illustrious examples were found, not among those who call themselves the *excellent of the earth*, but in the ranks of humble and comparatively obscure suffering? What is there in all this which our reformed Church should blush to avow? What does it prove, but that the intrinsic righteousness and holiness of the cause, in spite of the abominations of its most powerful abettors, had found its way to the hearts of such men as Heaven loves to select, that they may confound the wisdom of the wise, and the power of the mighty, and the terrors of the oppressor?—that persons were to be found who held a steady course in the midst of the serpentine craft or giddy caprice of their own party, or in defiance of the threats of their enraged adversaries? With these men, and such as these, was deposited the very life and virtue of the enterprise. These were they by whom the warfare was really carried on,

though Providence was pleased to use the bad passions of princes and nobles as pioneers to open the country for their operations. It has been said, that England has no such names to show as those of Luther, and Calvin, and Knox. Why, if the lot of Luther, or Calvin, or Knox, had fallen in England, and they had attempted to take the lead in a religious revolution there, in opposition to the will, or without the full consent, of Henry, it is pretty evident what must have been the fate of the Reformation. The heads of these men, or twenty such as these, would have been laid in the dust long before they could have made any deep and permanent impression on the public mind. Providence has various methods and resources at command for the accomplishment of its designs. If England has not a Luther or a Calvin to produce among the first leaders of the new system, she has others to show who, under all the circumstances, were quite as well fitted to promote among her people the interests of truth. In former days she had to boast of a Wiclif, the intrepid spiritual progenitor of all her subsequent martyrs. In the days of Henry she had her Ridley, her Latimer, and her Hooper, and a multitude of other names, which for profound learning, and for inflexible courage and self-devotion, are second to none among the most illustrious worthies of the Reformation; men who, in their rank and station, advanced the triumph of scriptural religion quite as effectually as Knox or Luther did in theirs. The cause may, originally, have been that of human interest and passion. By the example, the influence, and the sufferings of such men as these, it was converted into the cause of holiness and virtue. These, therefore, and not the brutal Henry and his jackall courtiers, are to be deemed our true reformers; and by the purity of their lives, and the sincerity of their doctrines, or the fires of their martyrdom, the evil and worldly savour, which at first tainted the sacrifice, has doubtless been purged away.

We have said thus much, because we cannot help thinking that we perceive occasionally in some of the historians of our Reformation, a most unwise parsimony of concession upon these points, and something of an imprudent hardihood in playing the advocate for men, whose grasping, profligate, and worldly lives have caused the *good* of the Reformation to be so bitterly *evil spoken of*. This disposition appears to us to be occasionally discernible even in the work of Dr. Nares, and most palpably in the history of Mr. Soames. It is observed by that laborious and, otherwise, excellent writer,* that

“ the prominent objections levelled by the Romanists against the Reformation, are founded on the characters of its principal promoters; but

* Vol. iii. p. 389, note b.

that they resolve themselves into the facts, that most of the reforming clergymen married, and that many of the laymen answered political or interested ends by the part which they took."

And these charges he calls "futile and absurd." Absurd they most undoubtedly are, beyond all names of folly, as directed against the married clergy. Equally worthless and despicable are all such insinuations, when levelled against the body of eminent divines engaged in the compilation of our Articles and Formularies, or against the merits and results of the Reformation itself. But we conceive that it is by no means so easy to dispose of the impeachment, so far as it involves the personal character of the laity, by whose influence and authority the change was principally carried on. The pillage of the Church Mr. Soames cannot but admit to be a stain left upon this revolution by those foul and ravenous harpies, who "left nothing unrent, unrifled, and unpolluted." But then he contends that it was a stain only because the spoliation transgressed all moderate bounds. We contend, on the other hand, that this very contempt of all moderation is itself a "damning proof" of the odious spirit which possessed the principal agents. Few men, says Mr. Soames very justly, would desire to see the whole body of English dignitaries possessed of that enormous landed property which was in their hands three centuries ago. And if the government had first secured a respectable and liberal maintenance to *all* the bishops, and the impropriate tythes to *all* the clergy, and had then applied the remainder, or a considerable portion of the remainder, not to the support of pampered dignitaries,* but to purposes connected with humanity, or sound learning, or religious worship and education—if they had done this, they would have been fairly entitled to the honour which is always due to a sincere regard for the most precious interests of mankind. This, however, they did not do, nor any thing like this. And whether it was that they were unable or unwilling to do it—in either case it is undeniable that a base and worldly spirit mixed itself with this great and holy achievement—to disfigure its glories and to maim its usefulness. And we do repeat, that in controversy with papists it is much better to admit this candidly and intrepidly, than to be making awkward efforts to soften or to conceal this most unseemly portion of the history. The sum of the matter is, that a mighty deliverance has been wrought for us—that Providence, in its inscrutable wisdom, allowed some of the worst passions of our nature, first to throw down the main obstructions to

* It is obvious that no such application of the revenues of the Church would have met with any countenance from Cranmer; for he said of the prebendaries *of those days*, "they will neither teach nor learn, but they be good vianders!"

that deliverance, and afterwards to starve and mutilate, in a great degree, that good cause, the name of which they used to sanctify their own selfish purposes.

Some noble exceptions there certainly may have been to the application of these animadversions. We much doubt, however, whether Somerset can fairly be placed among the number. Mr. Soames, indeed, affirms it to be obvious, that if the Protector had consulted political expediency alone, he would have allowed the continuance of the mitigated Romanism established under Henry; and that his determination to overthrow that system must, therefore, have arisen from an imperious sense of duty. We strongly suspect that it arose from an imperious sense of necessity. In the first place, there is nothing in the life or character of this ostentatious person, which entitles him to credit for much religious sincerity. We can hardly persuade ourselves that such a quality ever belonged to his nature. But, secondly, he must surely have felt, that in the existing state of things, it was absolutely unavoidable, either to go back or to advance. To remain stationary was next to impossible. The mitigated or rather the mongrel Romanism which Henry had left, could never have been long maintained. It would have satisfied no party. It should be recollected, that the late tyrant in his wrath had unsealed the mystic vessel, and set free its long-imprisoned tenant. The spirit of religious inquiry and improvement instantly sprung forth; and it required all Henry's force and energy of character to keep that restless power in awe. On his death, therefore, nothing was to be done but either to try, once more, the most potent and direful spells of the old enchantment, with a view to conjure that spirit back to its confinement; or else, to suffer it to remain abroad. A large proportion of the people, indeed, might be ready and impatient for the former experiment; but numberless motives of self-interest forbad its adoption by the government. The attempt might be well adapted to the dogged temper of a Mary, aided and encouraged by the saturnine bigotry of a Philip; but it was very ill-fitted to an unprincipled court, gorged with the plunder of the Church, and dreading a reaction which might by possibility compel them to restitution. There was consequently no alternative but to respect the energies which were still in manifest activity, and to proceed towards the consummation of the work which had been begun. And this course was rendered the more unavoidable by the notorious fact, that the young king had been carefully brought up in the principles of Protestantism.

It is a relief to turn away from the thought of such men, and such iniquities as we have been contemplating, to the venerable

worthies to whom the Church of England owes the decent solemnity of her worship, the primitive purity of her faith, and the blessing of her sublime and soothing Liturgy. The very mention of these glories instantly suggests the name of Cranmer to every heart capable of valuing these blessings. The debt of gratitude which this country owes to that prelate is absolutely measureless; for to his learning, industry, and moderation, it is universally allowed, she stands chiefly indebted for the present structure of her Church in discipline and doctrine. It must be confessed that this obligation has been occasionally repaid by an indiscreet extravagance of admiration, which has claimed for him the honours of a character to which his title is somewhat doubtful. It is not so much for exalted and inflexible courage that Cranmer challenges the homage of posterity, as for his eminent wisdom and caution; for his sober, patient, unwearied, and conscientious inquiries after Christian truth. Fortunate it might have been for his own peace, had he been allowed to serve his country and his God as a retired scholar and divine, instead of being forced up into the region of whirlwinds and of tempests, and constantly exposed to terrors, too much for any but the most heroic resolution. But whatever may have been his occasional lapses, every impartial understanding, and every kindly and generous spirit, must surely acquiesce in the verdict of the honest and indefatigable Strype, who says,—

“I do not intend these my collections for such a panegyric of him, as to make the world believe him void of all faults and frailties, the condition of human nature. He lived in such critical times, and under such princes, and was necessarily involved in such affairs, as exposed him to greater temptations than ordinary. And if any blemishes shall by curious observers be espied in him, he may therefore seem the more pardonable; and his great and exemplary goodness and usefulness in the Church of God may make ample amends for some errors.”

Of late, however, the memory of this distinguished benefactor to the Protestant cause, has been assailed with a rancour which we know not well how to describe, otherwise than by saying, that it irresistibly calls to our recollection the temper and the manner in which a certain other accuser once stood up to charge an eminent servant of God. Every failing is dragged forth and placed in the most trying point of view. Every virtue, every merit, and every service is most invidiously suppressed or perverted. A sort of livid glare is shed over the whole picture, which gives to every feature a sinister and repulsive expression; so that it is scarcely possible to rise from an examination of it, without unqualified feelings of aversion and contempt. Such is the exhibition presented to us of the man who was mainly instrumental in giving us

our impressive services, our moderate doctrine, and our incomparable forms of public devotion.

The first charge against him is, that he served Henry in the affair of his divorce. The service, however, was none of his seeking. His early studies had satisfied him that the pope's authority in this kingdom was a mere usurpation; and being accidentally in company where the subject of the divorce was started, he expressed an opinion that there was no necessity to resort to Rome for a decision of the question. This suggestion brought him to the notice of the king, and soon placed him on the commission dispatched under the Earl of Wiltshire to the continent, for the purpose of expediting the decision. One would most assuredly have been glad to see Cranmer travelling to the primacy by almost any other road than this. It may, nevertheless, be very safely affirmed, that there is no ground whatever for ascribing his services to any sordid or selfish views. With his dying breath he averred that he was all but forced into the see of Canterbury, and we can discover not the slightest reason for questioning the sincerity of that declaration. With respect to his celebrated protest, on entering upon that preferment, we have already offered some remarks in a former number of this Journal.* Doubtless it would have been much more grand and magnanimous in him to have told the king that he would receive the primacy from no hands but his, and that he would acknowledge no supremacy whatever in a foreign bishop. Not having the firmness to do this, he did that which was honest in the next degree, he openly proclaimed at the altar what he conceived to be the extent of his obligations to the pope. If he had been the worthless, time-serving caitiff he has been represented, we are at a loss to discover why he should not, with perfect composure, have swallowed the oath to the pontiff, and then, as quietly, have supported the independence of the English Church, and the ecclesiastical supremacy of the king. It would have been time enough for an unprincipled hypocrite to produce his salvos and his explanations when charged with duplicity. Had Cranmer been such a character, he might well have taken his chance of any such accusation. Had he been so accused, he might have had his Jesuitical answer ready—namely, that he never so understood the oath as to restrain him from advancing the Reformation. If not accused, all would have been well. He would then have been in the same condition as Wareham and others, who had taken the oath to the pope, and yet supported the royal supremacy. His protest, therefore, though not the noblest of all possible courses, was far from being a Popish subterfuge. It was a pub-

* *British Critic*, for October, 1828.

lic abjuration of any construction of the oath which might bind him to abstain from further innovation.

Another charge against Cranmer is, that he annulled the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn upon a frivolous pretence. If this be so, we would gladly know what that pretence was. Undoubtedly, a suit was instituted to nullify the marriage; and in that suit, Cranmer was unable to decline the duty of acting as judge. The exact grounds of the sentence, we believe, are unknown to this day. It seems, however, that the decision rested on certain admissions made by Anne herself. But there is no evidence whatever of Cranmer's having been employed to extort those admissions, nor of his having engaged in the business "with all the zeal of a proselyte," as Dr. Lingard, with unparalleled coolness, has been pleased to affirm.

The dissolution of the marriage with Anne of Cleves is, it must be confessed, a most unseemly and revolting affair; and it is heartily to be wished that Cranmer had been clear of any share in it. It appears that Henry did not scruple to humiliate the whole Convocation by calling upon them to rid his hands of his tall, ponderous, and square-built consort; and never, perhaps, did an assembly of divines sit down to a business much more sordid or degrading. The matter was eloquently submitted to them by Gardiner. Cranmer, with five other prelates, and seven persons of inferior rank, was appointed to report upon the evidence laid before them; and the disreputable result was, that the marriage was pronounced null and void. His share of the disgrace the archbishop must undoubtedly bear. All that can be said for him is, that there is no reason for supposing that he was prominently active in the matter. He was swept into the torrent, but does not appear to have raised his arms against it.

It must further be conceded, that there is not much appearance of magnanimous fidelity in the conduct of Cranmer on the disgrace of Cromwell. It should, however, be remembered, that in the hour of that minister's calamity and desertion the archbishop was the only individual who ventured to address the king on his behalf. His letter, Dr. Lingard tells us, is "penned with his usual timidity and caution." To us we confess that, all circumstances considered, it appears, on the whole, to be nearly such as friendship, tempered by wisdom, would have dictated; for while it avoids any direct question of the guilt of Cromwell, it is so framed as to call back most forcibly to the recollection of the king the eminent fidelity and invaluable services of his late favourite. An address differently conceived would only have exasperated the wrath of the tyrant, and would have sealed more firmly than ever the fate of his victim. Every one, however, must

grieve to find that the bill for Cromwell's attainder¹ passed the House of Peers with little opposition, and that, in that opposition, the voice of the archbishop was not heard.

The part taken by Cranmer in the criminal and insane project of Northumberland, though perhaps incapable of an entire vindication, was certainly not such as to fix any deep mark of infamy on his memory. It is notorious that, for a while, he was an obstinate recusant; and that he did not yield until the overbearing insolence of Northumberland was seconded by the opinion of the judges and the dying importunities of the king. It must further be recollected that, if he gave way, it was in company with many other distinguished individuals, whose subsequent conduct showed that, in complying, they did but throw themselves to the earth while the tornado was sweeping over them, and that they had resolved to resume their upright position as soon as the storm was overpast. It would, indeed, have been a glorious and heart-stirring spectacle if those individuals had risen as one man against the ambition and the arrogance of the traitor, and had outfaced his threatenings with a calm and stern defiance. But during times of violence and semi-barbarism such spectacles are seldom exhibited in courts. When the gates of destruction stand wide open night and day ready to swallow up all untractable and incommodious integrity, the art of self-preservation is pretty sure to be promoted to the rank of a cardinal virtue. We have already seen that, by their own confession, it was the dread of ruin and bloodshed which drove the delinquent counsellors from the straight path of duty and allegiance. In behalf of many of them this vindication was admitted; especially in favour of those zealous Catholics from whom more firmness in the cause of Mary might reasonably have been expected. To Cranmer, however, the benefit of any such plea was denied,* although his opposition to the treasonable enterprize had been much more stubborn than that of any other person, Cecil, perhaps, excepted.

As to the alleged flexibility of Cranmer on religious matters, it is not true that he varied with the fluctuations of the royal conscience. He openly and stoutly opposed the statute of the Six Articles, except as it involved the doctrine of Sacrament, respecting which his own mind was not then rightly informed. Nay, so uncompromising was his opposition that, in spite of a request to that effect from the king, he refused to absent himself from the division upon the question in the House of Lords. And it is further undeniable that, while Cromwell was in the Tower awaiting his doom, and the Romish party conceived themselves to be

* The treason of Cranmer was indeed pardoned; but he was rescued from the block only that he might be reserved for the stake.

triumphant, he inflexibly withstood the parliamentary commissioners in their pertinacious attempts to promulgate a Romish summary of doctrine. He did this too at the imminent peril of incurring the king's displeasure, who was then notoriously under the influence of that party.

But we are told that when Henry died Cranmer "*found out*" that the doctrine of transubstantiation was false. The calumny here insinuated is such as it is scarcely possible to hear with patience. Even the admirable Ridley never *found out* the falsehood of this doctrine till about the year 1545, and that after a long course of retired and solitary study. The light which had visited him he laboured to communicate to his friend and diocesan; and it was accordingly about the year 1547 that, after patient examination, Cranmer followed the example of his chaplain, and embraced the Protestant doctrine of the Sacrament. If any doubt could be entertained as to the process by which he was in the habit of *finding out* the truth, ample satisfaction might be had from the following testimony of Peter Martyr, who, speaking of Cranmer's work on the Sacrament against Gardiner, declares,* that "there was none of the Fathers which he had not noted; no ancient or modern book extant he (Martyr) had not, with his own eyes, seen noted by the archbishop's hand. Whatsoever belonged to the whole controversy, he said, that the archbishop had digested into particular chapters, councils, canons, popes' decrees, pertaining hereunto; and that with so great labour, that, unless he had been an eye-witness of it, and had seen it, he could not easily have believed others, if they had told him, in regard of the infinite toil, diligence, and exactness wherewith the archbishop had done it."

Upon the share which Cranmer had in the condemnation first of the sacramentaries, and afterwards of other religious offenders, it is quite impossible to reflect without the deepest sorrow. But the general mildness and moderation of his character absolutely give the lie to the execrable and slanderous suggestion which ascribes this severity to a sanguinary temper that was *never at a loss for people to burn*. The practice of centuries had unhappily consecrated the belief that death in all its horrors was the appropriate punishment of obstinate error, and that nothing short of this extremity could permanently secure the truth from violation and the souls of men from danger. Undoubtedly a person who had himself undergone a vicissitude of religious persuasion ought to have learned the absurdity and the atrocity of such a notion; but the inveterate and immemorial principle was too strong for common sense and common humanity. It converted the author of

* Nares, p. 371. Strype's Cranmer, i. 369.

the Utopia into an unsparing persecutor; it lighted the pile which consumed Servetus; it has left a stain of blood upon the memory of Cranmer.

The mention of this afflicting portion of the archbishop's history inevitably reminds us of the eminent dexterity with which Dr. Lingard has derived from such comparatively rare examples a very comfortable palliation of the wholesale massacre and havoc of Queen Mary's reign. Having remarked that the foulest blot on the character of this queen is her long and cruel "persecution of the Reformers," he adds, with matchless composure, "it is, however, but fair to recollect, that the extirpation of erroneous doctrines was inculcated as a duty by every religious party. Mary only practised what *they* taught." Now really this does strike us as the very perfection of calm, self-possessed, intrepid perversion and mis-statement. It is altogether quite admirable in its way. "The very rareness redeems it." The distinguished beauty of it is, that if the passage were perused by a person imperfectly versed in the preceding annals of the Church, he would be apt to conclude that Mary had learned the lesson of persecution chiefly from the practice of the Protestants; that to the Reformers she stood principally indebted for her knowledge of the best means of repressing the Reformation; and that, consequently, they had none but themselves to thank for the sufferings they endured in their turn. What then would be the astonishment of such a person on being informed that Mary's own Church had, for ages past, been practising and teaching the same lesson, upon the grandest scale, and generally with the most tremendous success; that to the fervid genius of that Church the world was wholly indebted for the discovery; that by her accursed, but most consistent example, it was, that intolerance and zeal had long been yoked together so closely, that even the spirit of the Reformation was, at the first, scarcely venturous enough to put them asunder? And what would he think of a commentator on history who, to swell the odium against Cranmer, should empty the phials of his wrath, not on the mother of these abominations, but rather on those who, though they abjured her communion, were not able to recover, in a moment, from the fierce intoxication of her enchantments?

Shortly after the accession of Mary, Cranmer was earnestly warned by his friends to fly, as many others were preparing to do, from the approaching persecution. No advice or intreaty could shake his resolution to remain at his post. This supple, pusillanimous, unprincipled, and selfish intriguer, (as he has lately been represented,) displayed on this occasion a fortitude worthy of the

brightest periods of primitive self-devotion. It is true, that when his heaviest trials came upon him they were at first too sore for his spirit—and he fell. He signed his recantation, (whether once, or twice, or seven times, is scarcely worth inquiry,) and yet he was brought to the stake. We will not dwell on the refinement in barbarity which spared no insidious blandishment, first to awaken his love of life and his dread of a tormenting death, then to lure him to set his hand to his own infamy, and which did not drag its victim forth to execution till he was steeped to the very lips in humiliation. We pass by the detestable mockery of citing him to Rome when he could not stir beyond the walls of his dungeon; of pronouncing upon him a sentence of contumacy for disobeying the summons; and of going through the forms of a trial, when the accused was physically incapable of defence, or remonstrance, or even of personal appearance before the tribunal. We turn at once to his demeanour in the last agony, as represented to us by a *Popish* spectator; to his self-possession and alacrity at the stake; to the fortitude which enabled him steadily to hold his *offending hand* in the flame, without a movement or a cry; to his “patience in the torment, and his courage in dying, which,” says the *Catholic* reporter, “if it had been taken either for the glory of God, the wealth of his country, or the testimony of truth, as it was for a pernicious error, and the subversion of true religion, *I could worthily have commended the example, and matched it with the fame of any Father of ancient time.*”^{*} Such was the departure of Cranmer. And when we recollect his constitutional defect of firmness, nothing is more astonishing than the heroism of his last hour. It has been most invidiously alleged that his retractation at St. Mary’s was merely the consequence of his despair of pardon. But his despair of pardon never can have inspired this “*timid courtier*” with invincible firmness while the flames were devouring his flesh. His courage in the midst of suffering, (which might well extort shrieks and groans even from men made of more stubborn stuff than Cranmer,) can never have been the effect of hypocrisy and dissimulation. The most perverse malignity will hardly maintain that he was playing a part when he held his hand immovably in the fire that was scorching every nerve and sinew, accusing that hand as the guilty instrument of his disgrace. We have here, at least, a substantial proof that, at that moment, every other anguish was trifling, compared with the agony of his deep, but not despairing, repentance. We have here an exhibition which pours contempt upon the hateful and flippant surmise that, had his life been spared, he would have

^{*} Nares, p. 723.

heard mass *like a good Catholic*; and that he would afterwards have purchased, by another apostacy, the right of burning braver and better men.

What then is the truth of this whole matter? We have here before us a person endowed with many inestimable qualities, though not, perhaps, with that iron fortitude, that constitutional force of character which, combined with higher principles, bears men uniformly and stiffly up under the sternest trials of this life. The fatality which placed him in a court, and especially in such a court as that of Henry, was most unfortunate for his quiet and his happiness. He was there like a man shut up with a half-tame lion, who would sometimes fawn upon him, and sometimes be ready to fly upon him. During the rest of his days he was doomed, more or less, to live in a menagerie of ravenous beasts—in the very midst of the impurity and the violence of the capricious savages. A more inauspicious and comfortless position for human virtue cannot well be imagined: and the consequence has been, that some spots and blemishes have broken out upon his character, which those who best know his substantial merits must always look upon with the bitterest regret. But then on the other hand, it will ever remain indelibly true, that the obligations of this country to him are “broad and deep;” that to his conscientious labours, and to his incomparable prudence and moderation, England mainly owes the present fabric of her Church; and that his sincerity and faithfulness were triumphant in the hour of death. We cannot, therefore, affect to conceal or qualify the disgust with which we have viewed a recent portraiture of him,—executed indeed by knowledge, but “knowledge,” to all appearance, “much darkened by malice,”—a portraiture which robs him of all amiable or dignified expression; which denies him the air, not merely of sanctity, but of common respectability; which represents him in the likeness of a pitiful, cowardly, sordid, unfeeling, hypocritical, self-interested knave; and which, in short, is altogether fitted to hold up his memory to public scorn and execration.

Of the merits and services of the Church which rose under the hand of this master-builder, we have already had occasion to speak somewhat largely in our animadversions on the Constitutional History of Mr. Hallam. We are therefore relieved from the necessity of any lengthened reference to the vehement tone in which his accusations against that Church have recently been echoed by his admirers. We feel, however, strongly impelled, by this unmeasured obloquy, to borrow, for a moment, one sentiment of the historian, the benefit of which, if it be just, ought in all equity and righteousness to be allowed to the Church, in any esti-

mate which may be formed of her temper and proceedings, as an essential part of the constitution. It is wisely and nobly observed by him, that "men of sordid characters rejoice to generalize so convenient a maxim, as the non-existence of public virtue."* Now, if this be so, we cannot ascribe any very exalted attribute to the mind which denies to the ecclesiastical body one particle of public spirit and disinterested virtue—and which ascribes their whole conduct to a steady hatred of freedom, and to a grovelling devotion to the crown. By fixing its attention on the words, or actions, or designs, of some individual churchmen, a virtuous mind may work itself, at any time, into a fever of indignation against the servility of priests; and then is the moment for the "*sordid character*" to step in and "*generalize*," and to whisper that the spirit of slavishness and degradation possesses, at all times, the whole ecclesiastical profession; and that the progress of our constitution towards its perfection was actually retarded by the sinister influence of that selfish and abject body. We fully acquiesce in the opinion of Mr. Hallam, that nothing can more powerfully argue a middling and narrow mind than the disposition thus to distribute over a whole community the occasional demerits of some of its representatives; and to stigmatize it, as beyond redemption, for their dangerous application of certain general principles. And we cannot but feel persuaded, that, if this truth had been steadily kept in mind, it might have helped to tame the cynical acrimony which often betrays itself in the speculations of this writer and his adherents, relatively to the history of our religious establishment.

There is another sentiment propounded by the Historian of the Constitution, worthy to be held in remembrance by all readers of his work, and of certain commentaries which have been put forth upon it. It is intimated by that author, that party-spirit, though, in speculation, not strictly defensible, has something in it of faithfulness and nobleness and elevation, which makes it the best substitute for public spirit in the proper sense of the word.† We verily believe that there is much truth and wisdom in this remark; and we are willing to allow the advantage of it, in liberal measure, to politicians and to statesmen. But we are utterly at a loss to comprehend the justice of wholly excluding churchmen from its protection. If devotion to the honour of a party be held to redeem, and almost to sanctify, the aberrations of public men, why should the divines be branded by merciless reprobation when they unite for the defence and the preservation of their order? Why are we to be told that their spirit was selfish and mercenary, since they rose against oppression when it assailed their property

* Hallam's Const. Hist. vol. ii. p. 610.

† Ibid. p. 647, 648.

and their freedom? The firmness and intrepidity of churchmen undoubtedly helped to save the Protestant constitution in the time of James II. Why is this transcendent service to be tarnished by obloquy and disparagement, purely because the aggressions, which the Church then suffered from the throne, were the occasion which called her forth to plant herself in the breach? But this is usually the way with that *ludus impudentiæ*, miscalled the School of Liberty. When the public virtue of secular persons and friends of the people is somewhat questionable, there is reserved a very respectable and convenient position upon which they may fall back from the higher and more chivalrous ground. If not altogether patriots, they, at least, are partizans of tried honour and fidelity. But for churchmen this retreat is utterly cut off. If they are slow to move against established authority, it is a sure indication that the whole body is without a single spark of free-born nobleness and integrity. If, on the other hand, they combine for their own protection, their opposition is nothing better than a disgusting mixture of selfish bigotry and faction. When political agitators seem to forget the public interest, they are provided with a motive which at least secures them from contempt. When the sacred order show that they have human feelings, and a sense of wrong, no motive can be found too low and too disgraceful to explain their unusual sensibility. The praise of party-spirit is, in short, a species of sanctuary, which is kept open for the comfort of political delinquency. But, if a churchman ventures to approach it, he is driven back with scorn, and left to the hue and cry of the enemy and the avenger.

We advert to these little peculiarities of a certain school, purely for the sake of illustrating the manner in which they are often pleased to administer historical justice to the clerical profession; and not because we are anxious to secure to the members of that profession the privilege of fleeing to that *substitute, the spirit of party*, as to a city of refuge, whenever they may be tempted to quit the strong hold of religious integrity. The politicians are welcome to that retreat, which they *have made so strong for themselves*. No motives short of the loftiest and purest can properly become a Christian minister, or a governor of the Christian Church; and it is always instructive for persons, invested with that sacred responsibility, to contemplate the tender mercies they have to expect from the men of liberality, on descending from the high ground they ought to occupy.

“A man as old as I am,” says Burke, “will not be astonished that several churchmen in every description do not lead that life of perfect self-denial which is wished by all, by some expected; but by *none exacted with more rigour than by those who are the most attentive to their own interests, and the most indulgent to their own passions.*”

This remark may be useful to the clergy as a warning against any deviations and obliquities which may cause them *to fall into the hands of man*; but it ought likewise to have its use as a caution to the students of history. It is fit they should know the spirit which often presides over the labours of those who are pleased to edify the world with the annals of ecclesiastical servility and turpitude.

We revert, for a moment, once more, to the invidious suggestion that the direct, and regular opposition of the Church to the measures of James II., commenced only at the moment of his invasion of their own rights. On what occasion, we would ask, could it commence so naturally? Where could churchmen make so effectual and righteous a stand as on their own ground? What other post could they defend with such a combination of zeal and knowledge? How is it that patriots have turned back the tide of oppression, but by resisting it when it approached their own territory? What is it that immortalized Hampden but his firmness when the tax-gatherer came to his door, and by his resolution to abide the hazard of bringing the question of ship-money before the tribunals of his country? And how could the Church better fight the battle of the constitution, than in the person of her bishops, when an infatuated tyrant sought to violate and enslave their consciences?

But then we are told, that the Church, till that time, had always been the school of unlimited obedience; and that, when her own dignity was touched, she suddenly forgot to practise the submission which she had uniformly taught. Now, with regard to this most uncharitable and sweeping censure, we gladly resort to the language of the Constitutional Historian himself, which, compared with that of his commentators, is a perfect pattern of righteous moderation.

“It is not my intention,” says Mr. Hallam, speaking with reference to the latter period of the reign of Charles II., “to censure, in any strong sense of the word, the Anglican clergy, at this time, for their assertion of absolute non-resistance, so far as it was done without calumny and insolence towards those of another way of thinking, and without self-interested adulation of the ruling power. Their error was very dangerous, and had nearly proved destructive to the whole constitution, but it was one which had come down with high recommendation, and of which they could only, perhaps, be undeceived, as men are best undeceived of most errors, by experience that it might hurt themselves. It was the tenet of their homilies, their canons, their most distinguished divines and casuists; it had the apparent sanction of the legislature in a statute of the present reign.* Many excellent men, as was shown after the Revo-

* 13 Cha. II. c. 2, s. 5.

lution, who had never made use of this doctrine as engines of faction or private interest, could not disentangle their minds from the arguments on which it rested. But, by too great a number, it was eagerly brought forward to serve the purposes of arbitrary power, or at best to fix the wavering Protestantism of the court by professions of unimpeachable loyalty. To this motive, in fact, we may trace a good deal of the vehemence with which the non-resisting principle had been originally advanced by the Church of England under the Tudors, and was continually urged under the Stuarts.

“ From the era of the Exclusion-Bill especially, to the death of Charles II., a number of books were published in favour of an indefeasible hereditary right to the crown ; and of absolute non-resistance. These were, however, of two very different classes. The authors of the first, who were perhaps the more numerous, did not deny the legal limitations of monarchy. They admitted that no one was bound to concur in the execution of unlawful commands. Hence the obedience they deemed indispensable was denominated passive ; an epithet which, in modern usage, is little more than redundant, but, at that time, made a sensible distinction. If all men should confine themselves to this line of duty, and merely refuse to become the instruments of such unlawful commands, it was evident that no tyranny could be carried into effect. If some should be wicked enough to co-operate against the liberties of their country, it would still be the bounden duty of Christians to submit. Of this, which may be reckoned the moderate party, the most eminent were Hickes, in a treatise called *Jovian*, and Sherbeck, in his case of non-resistance to the supreme powers. To this also must have belonged Archbishop Sancroft, and the great body of non-juring clergy, who had refused to read the declaration of indulgence under James II., and whose conduct would have been utterly absurd, except on the supposition that there existed some lawful boundaries of royal authority.”—*Hallam's Constitutional History*, vol. ii. p. 332—335.

That these views are substantially correct, any person, who retains a curiosity respecting this question, may fully satisfy himself, by reference to the trial of Dr. Sacheverel,—that record of a proceeding in itself eminently absurd, but eventually of great importance to the constitution. He may find there a regular and continuous series of authorities, produced by Sacheverel's counsel, in support of the high tory doctrine, extracted from the writings of the most celebrated divines, from the time of Cranmer down to that of the impeachment. A dispassionate examination of these can hardly fail to convince us that the writers never seriously contemplated a submission which should place the life, and property, and conscience, and freedom, of whole nations at the mercy of a despotism, whether with one head or many. Their notion was, that no mention of resistance ought to find its way into any formal theory of government. It was to be something of which the loyal subject was to say—*nequeo monstrare, et sentio tantum*. They

held, indeed, that resistance is unlawful and unchristian, so long as the ruling power should act within the technical limits of its authority; and, unfortunately, they had learned from the lawyers to assign to those limits a very formidable amplitude; but it never was their deliberate doctrine that kings might be tamely allowed to trample on all laws divine and human. One most magnanimous exception, to be sure, there was, to this temper of moderation and tacit compromise; and that was to be found in the doctrine of old Bishop Saunderson, who seems fairly to have taken leave of all sound discretion and common sense; to have thrown himself desperately into the most untenable position which the whole range of the question affords, and there, as it were with his back against the wall, to have bid defiance to the whole insurrection of man's natural principles and feelings.

"For a man," he says, "to blaspheme the holy name of God, to sacrifice to idols, to give wrong sentence in judgment, by his power to oppress those that are not able to withstand him, by subtilty to overreach others in bargaining, *to take up arms, offensive or defensive, against a lawful sovereign*;—none of these, and sundry other things of the like nature, being all of them simply, and *de toto genere*, unlawful, must be done by any man, at any time, in any case, upon any colour or pretension whatsoever; the express command of God himself only excepted, as in the case of Abraham for sacrificing his son:—not for the avoiding of scandal—not at the instance of any friend, or command of any power on earth—not for the maintenance of the lives or liberties either of ourselves or others—nor for the defence of religion—nor for the preservation of Church or state—no, nor yet, if that could be imagined possible, for the salvation of a soul—no, not for the redemption of the whole world."—*Sacheverell's Impeachment. State Trials*, vol. xv. p. 255. Ed. 1812.

The recital of these enormous positions appears to have produced, as well it might, a sort of commotion in the House. And yet, it can hardly be doubted that this good and honest bishop was betrayed into these monstrous statements by his very integrity; by his dread of crooked and Jesuitical casuistry, rather than by a spirit of slavish devotion to the crown. Neither can we question that, had he lived to see even legal power arming itself against the peace and happiness, the virtue and religion, of millions, he must, in spite of himself, have seen, in such a frightful emergency, a virtual dispensation with his own principles—an intimation almost equivalent to the "*express command of God*." He must surely have perceived, that there *may* be cases in which submission to the prince is treason against human nature, and consequently against heaven itself.

But we have been wandering most licentiously away from Dr. Nares and his labours; and here we find ourselves, at last, nearly

two centuries distant from the birth of his hero. How this has happened we hardly know. We must plead, however, that his own example has tempted us to be somewhat excursive. If the *Life of Burleigh* has opened to *him* the history of the Reformation—the history of the Reformation has irresistibly reminded us of the calumnies which have lately assailed the Church which that Reformation has given us; and it is scarcely in human nature to hear such slander without an effort to repel it. The attempt to discharge this duty, we feel it but just to say, has had the effect of giving to the Constitutional Historian an aspect of mild and mitigated enmity, placed, as we have now seen him, by the side of other performers whose “evil will” is still more deadly, and who have made his work a position for their hostilities. From his own representations we might, sometimes, rise with the impression that the Church was far too much of a humble and obsequious friend to the state, and that she was awakened to the error of such unqualified compliance when she herself began to feel the gripe of encroachment. From the representations of his commentators, we should deem her to have been little better than an unprincipled and mercenary confederate, combined with the monarch in a dark and foul conspiracy against the freedom and the intelligence of the country, and quitting that execrable league only when her share of the spoil appeared to be in jeopardy. For the former of these statements the conduct and the writings of some individual churchmen may occasionally, perhaps, furnish a plausible pretence. To the latter, nothing could have given birth but the habit of seeking the worst possible motives for words or actions at all liable to misconstruction, and fixing on some of the worst members of a society as fair representatives of its general spirit and character.

After all, however, we may confidently revert to the views which we have already maintained in our former remarks on the work of Mr. Hallam, namely, that the claims of the Church are not to be estimated according to the merits or demerits of individual ministers or dignitaries. A true notion of her value is to be derived, not so much from the occasional preachings, or writings, or actions of churchmen, whose stations may have brought them into contact with political interests, as from her strength in the confidence of the people, and her influence on the public virtue and devotion. To this test she may confidently appeal. We have already contended that her hold on the public mind and heart was one mighty instrument in three great and providential deliverances experienced by our country; that it potently helped to save us from the rampant and rebellious arrogance of the Holy Discipline in the days of Elizabeth; that it

mainly contributed to the happy resurrection of the monarchy in the days of Charles II.; and that it aided most signally in our preservation from the desperate designs of his infatuated brother. Peradventure, the days may not be far distant when the Church shall be called upon once more to prove her claim to the reverence and gratitude of the people, as a powerful conservative principle of the constitution. An awful experiment has recently been made, one effect of which must assuredly be, to call for the exertion of whatever she may possess of beneficent and salutary power. We are fully persuaded that she will be prepared to answer that call; or, at least, that nothing can prevent her doing so but an unprincipled abuse of her resources by those who have the distribution of her patronage. Mangled and mutilated as those resources were by the political agency which opened the way to her Reformation, her means of good are still sufficient ultimately to repel the worst danger which may be gathering, unless she is most stupidly and most wickedly debarred from an effective application of them. Of the change which has recently been made, and which may produce a fearful demand upon her energies, it becomes us to speak only as loyal and Christian men must ever speak of the law under which they live. Thus much, however, we may venture to say—(and we say it not for the purpose of spreading gloomy and oppressive apprehensions)—that the admission of Romanists into the privy council and the legislature is a step, of which no human sagacity can pretend distinctly to foresee the consequences. The hopes of the most sanguine among its intelligent and honest advocates must inevitably be dashed by some secret doubts and misgivings. It is, therefore, the duty of those who truly value the blessings purchased for us by the toil and blood of our Reformers, to regard the future workings of that measure, if not with an unfriendly and jealous, yet, at least, with a watchful eye. They should be prepared to hail with thankfulness its beneficial operation—if such should be the blessed result to which a gracious Providence shall direct it. But they should likewise be prepared, with every talent and with every faculty, to resist any tendencies which may lurk within it hostile to the Protestant cause—and which may manifest themselves hereafter in the shape of open aggression or of insidious approach. Of one thing we may be most firmly assured—that there will be no defect of vigilance, activity, and zeal on the part of those who have recently won the territory which has been the object of so protracted and obstinate a struggle. Whatever may be the faults of that communion, indolence and apathy most certainly are not of the number. Whatever advantage their late success may offer, we may be fully per-

suaded that they will labour most faithfully, and most intensely, to improve it. There will be no repose, no languor, no cessation among them; the ground they have gained will be employed, with the utmost industry and skill, for the purpose of strengthening their position and of extending their operations. What then can be said for the Protestant Interest if, under these altered circumstances, it shall be wanting to itself? What can be said for the Church of England—(taken in the largest sense, as comprehending not merely her professional members, but the laity of her communion, and especially those who have the disposal of her dignities and benefices)—what can be said for the Church, if a spirit of slumber should creep over her, while her adversary and rival is before her, with loins girded, and lamp flaming, as if in keen and restless watchfulness for the coming of the bridegroom? If the admission of Papists to the common privileges of Dissent shall animate the Church vigorously to stir up the heavenly gift that is within her, and shall rally her sons around her in warm and cordial allegiance, then may the change, which so many now look upon with heaviness of heart, be in truth but a signal for the approach of brighter days than, yet, she has ever seen. But if the measure in question shall excite no such feeling of increased responsibility, we almost tremble to think upon the consequences;—and we feel ourselves compelled to remind our brethren, that an abandonment to delusion is the appropriate punishment for an indifference to truth.

At present, however, we perceive no reason to fear any such result. The most apprehensive mind must allow that there is much cause for gratitude, and even exultation, in the late history of Catholic Emancipation. The attachment of the people to their Protestant institutions was then nobly, and almost universally, expressed in their petitions to the legislature. There is in this one fact an inexpressible consolation. It shows us that the public heart is sound in this country at least. It shows, we trust, that a wall of adamant is built up against a return of the waters which once inundated this land. It affords a consolation of a still higher sort—it shows us that, be the measure of concession good or bad, it is the measure rather of the government than of the nation. If the measure be good, a merciful Providence, it is to be presumed, will not defeat its beneficial operation, in vengeance for the mistaken resistance which was arrayed against it. If it be bad—if it be such as to deserve the approbation neither of God nor man—the people may have the satisfaction, at least, of knowing that they protested against it—that the sin, *if it be one*, is not a national sin. They may in that

case, therefore, warrantably entertain the hope, that the Almighty will graciously mitigate the displeasure with which his justice might otherwise have visited it; and that, in his mysterious providence, he may even convert it into an instrument of blessing.

ART. II.—*Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa, from the Bight of Benin to Soccatoo.* By the late Commander Clapperton, of the Royal Navy. *To which is added the Journal of Richard Lander, from Kano to the Sea-Coast, partly by a more Eastern Route.* With a Portrait of Captain Clapperton, and a Map of the Route. London. Murray. 1829. 4to. 2l. 2s.

WERE the geography of Africa, its physical characteristics, the direction and height of its mountains, the course of its rivers, magnitude and position of its lakes, or even the peculiarities of its climate, the only objects in view when missions are sent out, such as that of which this work gives an account, there could be no question as to the inexpediency of risking the lives of so many men of talents for a purpose which, however valuable in itself, may be attained at too high a price. But it would be a narrow view of the subject to consider the physical state of Africa as the sole or even as the most important object contemplated. The moral state of the myriads who people that vast continent, and the means which offer themselves of improving their condition, are the great questions, the solution of which we seek from the explorer of central Africa. And when it is considered how large a portion of the debasement by which the African is now depressed, may be attributed to the nefarious traffic in which almost all Europe for upwards of two centuries participated, it will not perhaps appear Quixotic to say, that some compensation is due for so much mischief, and that the lives lost in the attainment of such an end, cannot be considered as thrown away in an useless or secondary inquiry.

That great truth which the advocates for the slave-trade were so unwilling to admit, viz. that the further the traveller recedes from the coast, the more does he find the natives advanced in civilization and happiness, has been so long established beyond dispute, that it is almost in danger of being forgotten, from the silence of the adversary; and it has not perhaps been remarked as it deserved, that the memorable journeys which have at length connected the northern and southern shores of Africa, have afforded abundant materials in support of that position. As far, indeed, as they are yet known, the most brutal and inhuman of the Negro

tribes are those within a moderate distance from the coast; but should it ultimately prove to be otherwise, it will still remain to be shown that the slaving-system is not the great source of African degradation. That system, it must be remembered, is fostered by Mohammedanism, and as the creed of Mohammed has found its way into the very heart of Nigritia, many of the tribes in the interior are exposed to the merciless incursions to which that traffic gives birth. It is from the coast, however, that the great demand arises, and were that once cut off, it is plain, from Col. Denham's observations, that the ghazziyehs, or slaving-incursions, would cease. Of this we have a striking instance near the beginning of the present work, (p. 13—21.) That great end once attained, hopes of the rapid improvement of Africa might be reasonably cherished. By the vigilance of our cruisers on the coast and the good conduct of our travellers in the interior, a favourable opinion of the British character has been established in all the most civilized and accessible parts of the country; and most of the chiefs would be proud to have agents from our government resident at their courts, as has been suggested by Bowdich and Macqueen, and such persons would be, of all others, best qualified to extend our knowledge of the country and assist in promoting the civilization of its inhabitants.

But the fatal effects of the climate on the health of most Europeans will be deemed by many an insuperable bar to the adoption of this plan. It may, however, be questioned whether, if sufficient care were taken as to the rate, time, and mode of travelling, the choice of season, and position of his residence, such a traveller would be exposed to the same hazards as were encountered by Clapperton, Denham, and Laing. Many Englishmen have resided for years without material injury to their health, even at Sierra Leone, and it should be remembered that though we hear of almost all those who die at such stations, no account is kept of the survivors. There can be little doubt that the latter form a frightful minority, yet were a report of their numbers produced, the amount would probably be greater than is generally supposed.

To these considerations which, it is hoped, will not appear absolutely chimerical, it may be added that the loss of the lamented traveller, whose journal is now before us, is not to be ascribed solely to the effects of the climate. His liver was diseased before he last quitted England; and much of his subsequent sufferings and debility was occasioned by anxiety and disappointment, as well as by fatigue and want of medical assistance. Discouraging therefore as the melancholy termination of his mission may appear, it

does not cut off all hope of a better fate to future adventurers in the same path; nor will it, we trust, repress the efforts of Government to draw aside the veil which has from the earliest ages concealed the greater part of Africa from the rest of the world.

The circumstances which immediately led to the mission of which the following pages are an abstract, cannot have escaped the notice of those who are acquainted with Captain Clapperton's former narrative. His flattering reception at Sakatû in the spring of 1824, the wish expressed by Bellô, Sultân of the Fellâtahs to have a consul and physician resident at his court, the assurance that the Kwârâ, or Jâlibâ, communicated with the sea, and, above all, the promise that an escort should be sent to accompany the British mission from the southern coast, all conspired to give such a promise of permanent advantages, that the whole nation might be said to anticipate the views entertained by Lord Bathurst, then Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, who did not hesitate in adopting, without delay, the arrangement made by Captain Clapperton with Bellô.—(*Brit. Crit.* ii. 540.) At the request of that officer, Mr. Dickson, a friend of his, who had served as a surgeon in the West Indies, was appointed to accompany him, and another naval surgeon, Dr. Morrison, together with Captain Pearce, R. N. was afterwards appointed to join them, as it was thought advisable, in an undertaking so hazardous and at the same time presenting so wide a field of inquiry, to guard against the casualties which might occur, and leave an opening, if opportunity should offer, for excursions in different directions. To a knowledge of medicine Dr. Morrison and Mr. Dickson added an acquaintance with various branches of natural history, but, perhaps, there was no one of the whole party from whom the public had more to expect, or whose loss is more to be deplored, than Captain Pearce. To a kind-heartedness and simplicity of character, which endeared him as an individual to all who knew him, he united an ardent love for the service in which he was engaged, and talents far above mediocrity, which had been zealously employed in the acquisition of every branch of knowledge connected with his profession. To his skill as a draughtsman Mr. Barrow has borne testimony in the present work, (p. xiii.) but he was probably not aware that Captain Pearce excelled as a practical astronomer, and was ready to take an active part in every inquiry which could forward the scientific objects of the mission. Such was his anxiety to accompany it, that he would not listen for a moment to the objections started by some of his friends as to the impropriety of his acting under the orders of an officer of inferior rank, and he most cordially waved every consi-

deration of that sort, for the purpose of advancing the interests of science and what he justly deemed the honour of his country.

There was certainly no backwardness on the part of Government to take advantage of the opportunity which Belló's proposition seemed to offer.—Poor Clapperton was hurried away from his relations in Scotland, and the whole party was shipped off for the Bight of Benin on the 27th of August, 1825, not three months after the arrival of their leader from Bornû. Though it was extremely desirable to lose no time, especially as by that means the party might reach the end of its journey before the rains had set in, yet there were some evils attending this precipitation; none of the travellers had leisure to make the necessary preparations, and their instructions (of which, by the way, we hear nothing in this book) do not appear to have been drawn up so as to provide for the contingencies which they had to expect. It would be going too far to say that the difficulties under which Clapperton laboured in his last journey were occasioned by the want of such foresight; but it is not too much to affirm that nothing but the unavoidable haste with which his instructions were prepared, could have prevented the framers of them from contemplating the possibility of the dilemma in which he was placed, and protecting him by a discretionary power as to the execution of the whole of his mission.

Of the proceedings of the party till they reached the Bight, on the 26th of November, 1825, not a word is said, except that they touched at Teneriffe and St. Jago. This is the more remarkable as the papers of Captain Pearce and Dr. Morrison long since reached England, and the whole party made many observations on the summit of the Peak and elsewhere in the course of their voyage.

Mr. Dickson was landed on the coast of Hwîdâ, having determined, for reasons which do not appear, to make his way alone to Yâwerî on the Niger, where he was to rejoin his companions. He was accompanied by a Portuguese, named De Sousa, as far as Dâhômê, where that gentleman resided, and intelligence was subsequently received of his arrival at Shar, seventeen days journey beyond that place; from thence he set out with an escort for Yâwerî, but has never been heard of since. Of Bellô nothing seemed to be known on the coast, the rest of the party therefore proceeded a little further eastward, intending to ascend the Benin river. From this they were dissuaded by Mr. Houtson, a gentleman established as a merchant in Hwîdâ; he informed them that the king of Benin, to whom the English are peculiarly odious, would probably throw every obstacle in their way, but that the

chief of Badaghî,* near the mouth of the Lagos, would, no doubt, afford them protection to the frontiers of Yuribah, a state reaching to the banks of the Niger, and believed to be in alliance with the Fellâtahs. Mr. Houtson also engaged to accompany them as far as Katanga, or Ayô, the capital of Yuribah; they therefore landed at Badaghî on the 29th of November, and having, on the 7th of December, begun their journey, received a very hospitable reception at Puka from an Ayô chief, who had two Bornuese in his train. This place, which is within five miles of the sea, is the southern frontier town of Yuribah,† (p. 56.) It was once populous, and surrounded by a wall and deep ditch, but is now in ruins. As the cabeceira, or chief, would not give them bearers, they were obliged to proceed with the people whom they brought, and Captain Clapperton, who was neither provided with boots nor saddle, was obliged to travel great part of the way on foot in the midst of ant-hills, the inhabitants of which continually drew blood from his feet and ancles. They travelled by night, and at one village the natives sent guides with lamps to light them on their way. "Our short rest and ride," he says, "had a bad effect on us, and the road only wanted thorns to make our misery complete." At Dagmû, which they reached at midnight, they found that their beds had gone on further, and they were therefore obliged to sleep on the ground in the open air. These circumstances deserve notice, as they seem to show a want of any pre-concerted plan, and, what is of more consequence, a very imprudent exposure to the influence of the night air, which is notoriously hazardous in tropical climates. It is possible that their plans might have been thwarted by the negligence or mistake of their servants, but nothing of that kind appears in the Narrative. With such difficulties and privations at the outset of their journey, it is the less surprising that its consequences should have been so fatal.

On the third day Captain Clapperton had a slight attack of ague, the natural consequence of passing from "mornings raw, cold, and hazy," to a noon-day sun so oppressive that "he was obliged to sit down in the shade quite exhausted," (p. 9.) On the seventh day both Dr. Morrison and Captain Pearce were indisposed. On the ninth they reached Jannah about noon. This was the first town of any importance they had seen since they

* Spelt Badagry by Captain Clapperton; the last syllable begins with a strong guttural, resembling the letter R as pronounced by the Northumbrians. It is the Ghain of the Arabs and Hebrews. Perhaps the name should be spelt Badaghê.—(*Robertson's Notes on Africa*, p. 283.)

† Spelt Yariba by Lander; Yarriba by Bowdich; Yarraba by Dupuis; Yaraba or Youriba by Captain Clapperton; and Yurubâ in a map drawn by a native of Haüsâ.

quitted the coast. At the palaver-house, an open shed, they had to wait about an hour before the cabeceira made his appearance, which, however, he did at last,

“ gorgeously arrayed in a large yellow silken shirt and red velvet cap ; with a silver-mounted and silver-wrought kind of horse-whip, ornamented with beads, in one hand, and a child’s silver bell in the other, which he rattled or shook when he spoke ; he was seated on a large leathern cushion, which was placed on a mat covered with scarlet cloth. On the cloth,” says Captain Clapperton, (p. 11.) “ I was going to sit down, but the ladies very unceremoniously whipt it from under me, and I squatted myself on the mat ; his female attendants sung in chorus very beautifully : the drummers were at a more respectable distance, and the whole space in front of his house was covered with people. Here also were the worshippers, who paid their respects in due form to their master, going out and coming in three times. We shook hands with him. He said he was glad to see us ; that whatever we had to say to the king of Eyeo [Ayo], we must first deliver to him ; that if he approved of our palaver, so would the king ; but if not, neither would the king of Eyeo. This seemed somewhat ungracious and consequential, especially when coupled with his apparent inattention, while the interpreter was speaking to him ; but on our explaining to him that we had nothing of particular importance to say to the king of Eyeo, beyond a request that he would accept the king of England’s respects, and grant a passage through his country, he said all was right ; that he was glad we should see the king of Eyeo’s face ; that God would give us a good path, and that he would forward us right or without any trouble In the evening we were visited by the caboceer [chief] incognito. He was now quite a different man : his servant Akoni, who had come with us from Badagry, sat down, and the caboceer made a seat of his knee. He now conversed freely, gave us a great deal of good advice, and spoke of God more like a christian than a pagan. He said that the king of Eyeo would not allow us to go through his dominions, but that he would give us horses and carriers to bring us to the king ; but that the Eyeo people were unaccustomed to carry hammocks, and we must go on horseback. He repeatedly assured us of safe conduct to Eyeo, and said we might start to-morrow if our sick were well. We then gave him the greatest part of our string of coral, which in this country is highly esteemed. Mr. Houtson learnt this evening, that a message had arrived to the caboceer, from some part of the coast, probably Lagos or Dahomy, advising him that the Englishmen were going to make war upon the king of Eyeo, and that we might perhaps kill the king ; this, I apprehend, was the reason why he was so positive in wanting to know our business with the king of Eyeo.”

The town of Jannah stands on the side of a gentle hill, commanding an extensive view to the west ; the view to the east is interrupted by thick woods. The inhabitants are apparently civil and industrious, and may amount to 8000. They delight in

carved work, almost every thing of wood is carved. Narrow irregular streets, houses occupying a large space, and a market well supplied with the produce of the country, whether raw or manufactured, sufficiently mark the degree of civilization and prosperity which the place has attained.

"Here," says Clapperton, (p. 13.) "amongst the Yarribanies is the poor dog treated with respect and made the companion of men; here he has collars round his neck of different colours, and ornamented with cowries, and sits by his master, and follows him in all his journies and visits. In no other country of Africa, that I have been in, is this faithful animal treated with common humanity."

Allowing themselves no respite, and travelling in the cold damp morning air after having been exposed to the heat of the preceding day, it is not wonderful that almost all the Europeans in the party were far from well. Dr. Morrison and Captain Pearce were both, on the 22d of December, only sixteen days after they left the coast, so ill, that Captain Clapperton very judiciously recommended their return on board ship, in the hope of benefit from the sea-air, but neither of them would listen to the proposal; the former, however, followed his advice on the following day, and set out for the coast, accompanied by Mr. Houtson, but was not able to advance further than Jannah, where he died four days afterwards, almost at the same time as Captain Pearce who continued with Clapperton and just lived to reach Engwa, a village about seventy miles N. of Badaghi. A change of wind, and probably a difference of elevation, had, just before this, produced a corresponding change of temperature, which proved most beneficial to Clapperton himself and his faithful attendant Richard Lander.

Proceeding as far as Chocho [Kho-kho?] in $8^{\circ} 8' \text{ N.}$ and $4^{\circ} 2' \text{ E.}$, by a gradual ascent, covered for the most part with thick, almost impenetrable, forests, springing from a bed of strong red clay and vegetable mould, occasionally well cultivated, and maintaining a numerous population; the travellers entered a range of granitic hills, running from N. N. W. to E. S. E. often appearing in naked grey masses, entirely destitute of vegetation, and rising from 400 to 800 feet above the level of the narrow, winding, well-watered vallies by which they are intersected. This chain reaches as far as Kûsû nearly in $8^{\circ} 50' \text{ N.}$ It is manifestly the first step in the ascent to the great central level, and is probably a continuation of the chain which terminates to the west in the land of the Fûlas; a part of which is formed by the mountains called Kong by Park. That name is given, indeed, in the map to this range, but it should seem without any authority. The highest part crossed, is there also said not to exceed 2500 feet, but for this again no authority appears in the text. From Kûsû

to Ayô the range is less regular, and runs from N. E. to S. W.* seeming to indicate some great convulsion. Here the vallies widen gradually into plains, but want of wood and stunted trees point out a poorer soil, if not a severer climate. The domestic animals, except near the capital, are also of a small size; the wild animals are such as are usually found within the tropics, but do not seem to abound. The vegetable produce is considerable. Cloths are the principal manufacture, but slaves the staple article of commerce, and kauris, as in most parts of Africa, the common medium of exchange; a prime slave at Jannah is worth about 3/ or 4/.

At Châû, a day's journey from the capital, a cabeceira or chief, attended by a very numerous retinue, came to meet the travellers and escort them to the royal residence; and about noon the next day, from the top of a high ridge, they first saw the city of Ayô, called Katankât by the Fellâtalis. It lies in a finely cultivated valley, extending to the westward as far as the eye can reach, but intercepted to the eastward by a high rock, broken into large masses and singularly varied at its summit. The city, about three miles in length, and almost embosomed in shady trees, forms a belt round a rocky mountain of granite. The throng, on the approach of the white men to the royal presence, was immense, and the king's people had much difficulty in making a way through the crowd and allowing the procession to advance in regular order.

"Sticks and whips," says Captain Clapperton, "were used, though generally in a good-natured manner; and I cannot help remarking on this, as on all other occasions of this kind, that the Youribas appear to be a mild and kind people—kind to their wives and children and to one another; and that the government, though absolute, is conducted with the greatest mildness. After we got as far as the two umbrellas in front, the space was all clear before the king, and for about twenty yards on each side. We walked up to the verandah ‡ with our hats on, until we came into the shade, when we took off our hats, made a bow and shook hands; he lifting up our hands three times, repeating 'Ako, ako!' (how do you do?) the women behind him standing up and cheering us, calling out 'Oh, oh, oh!' (hurrah!) the men on the outside joining. It was impossible to count the number of his ladies, they were so densely packed and so very numerous. If I might judge by their smiles, they appeared as glad to see us as their master. The king was dressed in a white tobe, or large shirt, with a blue one under; round his neck some

* Should it not be from N. W. to S. E.? It is, however, probable that these hills may be a branch of the high range running through Adâmâwâ.

† It is spelt Katankâ, but pronounced Katangâ; kâf having the sound of G in most parts of Africa.

‡ By a singular perversity our countrymen in India, who usually omit the final *h* in Asiatic words, where it ought to be added, have introduced the practice of tacking it to this Portuguese word, where it ought not.

three strings of large blue cut-glass beads ; on his head the imitation of an European crown of blue cotton, covered over paste-board, made apparently by some European, and sent up to him from the coast."—p. 36.

They were offered apartments in the palace, but preferred a comfortable lodging elsewhere, in order to be near their servants and luggage. After dark, the king paid them a friendly visit *incognito*, and he was then not distinguishable in his dress from any of the people.

Confidential conferences are held privately, and at night ; it was intimated, therefore, that the presents should be delivered after sunset, and in the morning of that day, the king paid the mission a visit. When Clapperton declared the object of his mission, and added that his sovereign, having heard of the greatness of the King of Yúriba, wished to beg his acceptance of a present, he expressed his satisfaction at seeing white men, of whom neither himself, nor his father, nor any of his ancestors, had ever seen one ; " and now," he said, " he trusted his country would be put right, his enemies brought to submission, and he would be enabled to build up his father's house, which war had destroyed."

" This he spoke," says Clapperton, (p. 39,) " in such a feeling and energetic manner, and repeated it so many times, that I could not help sympathizing with him. He then said we were welcome to his country, and he was glad to see us, and would have been so even if we had not a cowrie, instead of coming with our hands full, as we had done ; that he wanted nothing from white men but something to assist him against his enemies and his rebellious subjects, so as to enable him to reduce them to obedience."

He expressed satisfaction on hearing that the travellers had been well treated, and said that Badghí, Alada and Da-hômê, all belonged to him, and paid duty for every ship which anchored on the coast. He feelingly deplored the civil war occasioned by his father's death, adding that all the ruined towns which they had seen, were destroyed and burned by his rebellious Haúsâ slaves and their friends the Fellátahs, (p. 39.) The parasols, gold-headed cane, cloth blue and red, and other presents sent to him by the King of England, highly delighted him ; and after some hesitation, he promised a safe conduct across the Kwâra, notwithstanding the civil war which, rendered travelling through Nifè dangerous. He was not, however, as good as his word, and Clapperton could not get away from his court before the 7th of March, having been detained there upwards of six weeks. Nothing like distrust or suspicion of any evil intention appears to have been harboured, which is the more remarkable when it is considered that he was confessedly going to a powerful prince, of whom the King of Ayô had so much reason to be jealous. It is

possible, however, that Bornú might be the place to which he was supposed to be going.

Yuribâ or Yaribâ, the country of the Ayôs, extends from Puka, within five miles of the sea, to about North Latitude 10°. It is bounded by Ketto, Maha and Borgû on the North and West, the Kwarâ or Niger on the East, Benin and Jabû on the South-East, Aladâ on the South, and Dâ-hômê on the West. The two last, together with Maha, are its tributaries. Its government is an hereditary and absolute monarchy, the subjects being considered as slaves of the king; but they are treated like domestic slaves, and the royal power seems to have been long exercised with mildness and humanity. The cabeceiras, or governors of provinces, are the only persons of distinction, and seem to hold their offices by a sort of military tenure, each appearing with his retainers when called upon to serve in war. The Yuribânies, or people of Ayô, have less of the peculiar negro features than almost any other natives of tropical Africa; the men are well made and have an independent air, but the women are generally inferior in appearance to the men. The king and chiefs are never approached but with the humblest prostrations, the body of their visitors being stretched along the ground, and their cheeks rubbed in the dust; and men of equal rank, when they meet, kneel on one knee, but women on both, leaning upon one of their elbows, the arm of which is placed on the ground that the hand may support the other elbow, (pp. 9—12.) Their religion consists, as far as could be ascertained, in the worship of one God, to whom they offer sacrifices of horses, cows, sheep, goats and fowls. At the great yearly festival, which appears to take place about the vernal equinox, all these animals are sacrificed at the Temple, in which a little of the blood is sprinkled on the ground; and the victims are dressed and eaten in a public banquet given by the king to all his subjects, both men and women, all, it is said, stark naked: and though pîtô, or "country ale," is drunk copiously, the least indecency would be punished with death. The king during these solemnities appears in all his finery, and he was very anxious that his guest should stay and "see him robed as a king," (p. 41;) but as the rainy season was approaching, his wish could not be complied with. He seemed much shocked on being asked whether there were any human sacrifices at these great festivals, as in Dâ-hômê; however it seems to depend upon the will of the priest whether a human being or an inferior animal is sacrificed on those occasions, and though the former is said to be always a criminal, it may be doubted whether the slaves massacred by the people of Ashanti and Dâ-hômê, in their bloody rites, are not considered as such by those who sacrifice them. The most

decided difference between the Ayôs and their western neighbours is, that one human victim only is offered by the former, while the number slaughtered by the latter is undoubtedly considerable.* The truth of what the king said on this subject was strongly corroborated by accounts received at Jannah from a Mohammedan, a native of Bornû, who had witnessed these rites. At the death of the king, his eldest son, (p. 323,) four of his principal chiefs, four of his women, and a great many of his slaves are obliged to swallow a dose of poison presented by the priest in a parrot's egg, and if it do not take effect, to hang themselves. Their mode of burial is singular; a deep but narrow grave is dug, and the corpse is placed in it in a sitting posture, with its elbows between its knees. Over the graves of the rich salutes are fired, and a wake, moistened by potations of rum, is kept in their houses. All kinds of vermin are eaten, and dog's flesh is a great luxury. Katungâ, the capital, is in $8^{\circ} 59'$ N. and $6^{\circ} 12'$ E. Its walls of clay, twenty feet high, surrounded by a dry ditch, and pierced with ten gates, enclose an oval of about fifteen miles in circumference, the diameter of which is four miles one way and six the other. The whole is encompassed by a belt of thick wood. The palace occupies about a mile square, and stands between two large parks; the buildings are similar to the houses on the coast, but the wood-work is ornamented with sculpture—a decoration much in fashion among the Ayôs and their eastern neighbours. Pantomimes are also a favourite amusement, and are executed with considerable skill, (p. 53.) The caricature of a white man—emaciated and ghastly as he so often appears in negro-land—was but too well hit off, and formed a finale to the exhibition, which was received with universal applause.

Had it been in Captain Clapperton's power to obtain the necessary information about the countries through which he was to pass, before he set out, he would probably have made more inquiries into the history, habits and condition of this people; for he would then have been aware that the power and influence of this state has continued unimpaired for more than a century—a circumstance the more remarkable, as the supplies of arms received through the slave-trade might have been supposed to give the chiefs on the coast a decided superiority over their inland neighbours. But it is plain from Bosman (Letter 20, p. 424.) that Hwidâ and Aladâ, or Ardra, were merely vassals to a more pow-

* Captain Clapperton has incidentally afforded a corroboration of the accounts given by Dabzel, (*Hist. of Dahomy*, xxiv. 189, &c.) "Mr. Houtson, who had been at the customs in Dâ-hômê, asked whether the King of Ayô put to death such a number of people on that occasion as were slain at Dâ-hômê."—(p. 41.) However this does not clear Dabzel and his colleagues from the charge of exaggeration.

erful state in the interior, before the close of the seventeenth century; and from Snelgrave's account (p. 55.) of the dread inspired by the Ayôs little more than thirty years afterwards, it can scarcely be doubted that they were the people of whom Bosman had heard. Their singular custom of requiring the king whom they mean to depose, to become his own executioner, (*Dabzel*, p. 13, *Norris*, p. 12,) is not mentioned by Clapperton; but their courage, cavalry and superiority over their neighbours are clearly established: and if the Rio Férmoso prove navigable to any considerable distance, an intercourse most beneficial to Africa may, and probably will, be hereafter maintained between our colonists at Fernando Po and the kingdom of Yuribâ. The high lands in the interior appear to be far more healthy than the coast, and the disposition of the natives, as far as it has as yet been observed, seems to promise a fair opening for civilization.

The direct route being insecure, Captain Clapperton, who left Mr. Houtson at Katungâ, was obliged to retrace his steps, and in less than thirty miles from the capital entered the territory of Kiama, a province of Borgû, which lies to the North-West of Ayô: he was escorted into Kiama by a number of men "mounted," he says, (p. 65,) "on as fine horses as ever I saw." This is the more observable, as he repeatedly remarks the diminutive size of the Ayô horses, though so much dreaded on the coast. The low lands in Africa seem peculiarly unfavourable to that noble animal; even at the Cape of Good Hope, the horses must be sent to the hills in the interior, at one season of the year; at Cape Coast, they never live above a few months; and at Jaqueen, Snelgrave tells us, (p. 26,) they "are but little bigger than asses." Yarro, the Sultan of Kiama, gave the mission a very favourable reception, and he came to visit the ambassadôr, "mounted on a beautiful red roan, attended by a number of armed men, and six young female slaves, naked as they were born, except a strip of narrow white cloth tied round their heads, about six inches of the ends flying out behind, each carrying a light spear in the hand."—(p. 66.) They, however, covered their waists when they entered the house. This chief was over-joyed at one of Tatham's African swords, which formed a part of Clapperton's present, and in the evening sent an earthenware jug, ornamented with the well-known portrait of "old Toby Philpot," for his inspection; and more European articles were seen during two days' residence in Kiama than during six weeks in Yuribâ. The câfilah, or caravan, from Ashantî and Gonjah to Haûsâ, consisting of upwards of 1000 individuals and as many beasts of burden, was then resting at Kiama. Its taya, or leader, a native of Kanô, pretended to have seen Clapperton in

Bornû. The connection of this country with Bornû and Haûsâ has already introduced a breed of horses from the former, and will probably lead to the introduction of Mohammedanism from both, for Friday is observed by the Pagans as a holiday, and their king assumes the title of Sultân. The Muselmans are sufficiently numerous to have a mosque, and the sultan's head-man was named Abû Bakr—a plain indication of his faith. The capital, called Kiama, is in $9^{\circ} 37' 33''$ N. and $5^{\circ} 22' 56''$ E.—a straggling, ill-built, thinly inhabited town, consisting of circular huts in square inclosures, intermingled with corn fields, surrounded by a ruinous mud wall, on the south side of a rocky ridge, and in the midst of a woody country. It may contain, 30,000 inhabitants, who with the rest of their countrymen, have the reputation of being desperate thieves, and the greatest hunters in Africa: Clapperton, however, never found them dishonest. Gûrma, they say, is eight days' journey to the North. Katakolî and Gonjah lie West-North-West. Clapperton was detained five days by the hospitality of this chief, and on the fourth day afterwards reached Wâwâ, having gone through a narrow pass in a rocky ledge “formed like a wall, and rising in some places into beautiful rocky mounts, with bold precipices, shaded on the top with trees of the most luxuriant foliage.” “Here,” he said to himself, as he went through, “is the pass or gates leading to the Niger.”—(p. 73.) This pass is a little to the south of the river Oli, or Ali, which runs into the Kwarâ above Rakah, six or seven miles to the South of Wâwâ.* At that place, in $9^{\circ} 53' 54''$ N. and $5^{\circ} 56'$ E., he had the first opportunity of hearing a distinct account of the fate of Mungo Park, and also met some messengers from Dâ-hômê or Fôï, the adjoining state on the South-West, from whence the European goods find their way into Borgû. Having been detained at Wâwâ nine days, he had leisure to obtain information respecting Borgû, of which it forms a part, as well as Kiama, Niki, Yâwerî and Busâ, the latter being the residence of the liege-lord or real sovereign of the country. The inhabitants are a cheerful but dissolute people, much addicted to drunkenness and incontinence, but honest, good-natured and hospitable—pretending to have come originally from Nifê and Haûsâ, but speaking a dialect of the Ayô or Yuribâ language. In religion they are either Pagans or Mohammedans, the former worshipping inferior deities as intercessors with the Supreme Being—

* We have here one of the many proofs of the extreme negligence with which this work has been prepared for the press. “After crossing,” says the author, (p. 79,) “I halted at the village of the ferry, which is called Billa, on the south side of the river, and so it is placed in the map: but the river was to the north of him; how could he, therefore, be on the south side of it after crossing it?”

an improvement probably on the creed of their forefathers, derived from their intercourse with Mohammedans, and founded on the supposition that a feudal system like their own, prevails in Heaven. They fully believe the whites to be cannibals, and that all the slaves sold to them, are eaten. Throughout these countries hordes of Fellâtahs are met with, generally Pagans, speaking the same language, and having the same peculiar features as those who are now masters of Haûsâ; who, as Clapperton learnt at Zaria, the capital of Zegzeg, came from Fûta-Bonda, Fûta-Torra, and we may add, Fûta-Jallô, which they call Mêlî (p. 159). Here, therefore, we have at last the Melli of Leo Africanus, (11, 641,) Mâlî of Ibn Batûtâ, and the land of the Mâlâwâ or Mârâwâ, of whom Mr. Bowdich heard so much at Kumâsî, and who were so ingeniously brought by Smith (p. 135.) from Cape Guardafuy across the broadest part of Africa. Mâlî, which was originally the proper name of the land of the Fulâs, Bambârâ, &c. (p. 337,) has been transferred since their conquest of Haûsâ to that country; for the Mâlâwâ of Mr. Bowdich (*Vocab.* p. 505.) is identical with the Haûsâ of Hannah Kilham (*Spec. of Afric. Lang.* No. 10.) and the Kachnâwâ or Kashuah language.

Just beyond Wâwâ, the party entered a range of low rocky hills, running, as the text says, from E. S. E. to W. S. W. (!) and consisting of square white quartz pebbles imbedded in a grey substance. This chain separates Wâwâ from Busâ, and, after travelling about twelve miles further, they reached the Menai near its junction with another branch of the Kwarâ. The main branch was thirty yards in breadth, running three or four knots an hour, red and muddy, as if in flood; but the king's messenger pointed to the high-water mark during the rains, which was fifteen feet above its present level. (p. 98.) On crossing the Menai, they entered Busâ, which is in 10° 14' N. and 6° 11' E. The Sultan of Yâwerî had sent seven boats to carry Clapperton up the river to his residence, but the latter declined the invitation, as he was anxious to reach Bornû before the rains. Busâ, it must be remembered, is the place where almost all the reports concur in fixing the melancholy termination of Park's last expedition; and the hesitation with which the sultan spoke, when questioned on the subject, could leave little doubt as to the truth of that fact.

“ The place pointed out as that in which the boat and crew were lost, is in the eastern channel, the river being divided into three branches at this place, not one of which is more than a good pistol-shot across. A low flat island, of about a quarter of a mile in breadth, lies between the town of Busâ and the fatal spot, which is in a line from the sultan's house, with a double-trunked tree with white bark, standing singly on the low flat island. The bank is not particularly high at present (in the

beginning of April,) being only about ten feet above the level of this branch, which here breaks over a grey slate rock, extending quite across to the eastern shore."—p. 104.

Captain Clapperton, though convinced that Park had fallen a victim to the hostility of the people of Busá, was at a loss to reconcile such conduct with the hospitable, unsuspecting treatment which he himself received, till he became acquainted, while at Kulfu, with a man who declared himself to have been an eye-witness of the death of Park and his companions.

"This account," he says, (p. 135,) "I believe to be the most correct of all that I have yet got; and [it] was told without my putting any questions or showing any eagerness for him to go on with his story. It was, 'that when the boat came down the river, it happened unfortunately just at the time the Fellatas first rose in arms and were ravaging Goober and Zamfra; that the Sultan of Boussa, on hearing that the persons in the boat were white men, and that the boat was different from any that had ever been seen before, as she had a house at one end, called his people together from the neighbouring towns, attacked and killed them, not doubting that they were the advanced guard of the Fellata army, then ravaging Soudan, under the command of Malem Danfodio, the father of the present Bello; that one of the white men was a tall man with long hair; that they fought for three days before they were all killed; that the people in the neighbourhood were very much alarmed, and great numbers fled to Nyfié and other countries, thinking that the Fellatas were certainly among them. The number of persons in the boat was only four, two white men and two blacks; that they found great treasure in the boat, but that the people had all died* who eat of the meat that was found in her.' A letter from the chief of Yauri confirmed this account, declaring that Park and his party had been killed, and their boats plundered, by the people of Busá; adding, that the bodies of two black men were found in the boats chained together; that the white men jumped overboard; that the boat was made of two canoes joined fast together, with an awning or roof behind; that he, the sultan, had a gun, double-barrelled, and a sword, and two books that had belonged to those in the boat."—p. 132.

The books he promised to give up whenever Clapperton should come to Yâûrí; but there is every reason to believe they were printed books, nor could any intelligence of MSS. be obtained.

* This circumstance, which was mentioned more than once to Clapperton, was explained by the Ma'llam [Mu'alleim] or Imâm of the merchants, with whom Lander travelled from Waûwaû (or Wâwâ) to Kiama. That old man told Lander, unasked, (p. 317), that he had known the white men who came down the river to Yaûrí. The king of that country cautioned them against proceeding further by water, on account of the rocks and cruel race of people on the banks of the river. They proceeded, and were murdered at Busâ, of which the king and most of the inhabitants were swept off by a pestilence soon afterwards. This was therefore considered as a visitation from heaven; and "If you hurt a Christian, you will die like the people of Busâ," became a common saying throughout the country.

Mention is made in one place (p. 134) of a Fellâtah who was sent to Raba, a town on the Kwarâ, to the former Imâm of Busâ, who was said to possess some of Park's books, but no notice is taken of the return of this messenger; indeed, a long vacancy occurs in this part of his journal, occasioned no doubt by the illness which detained Clapperton from the 2d of May till the 19th of June at Kulfû in Nifè.

Having entered so much into detail with respect to their route through the entirely unexplored and interesting regions, which lie between the ocean and the Niger, our limits will not allow us to notice any thing more than the most prominent features of the remainder of their perilous journey, and the return, in some respects more perilous, of Clapperton's faithful attendant, Lander.

The course of the Kwarâ or Jâlibâ is interrupted by rocky islands and rapids at a small distance below Busâ; and Comie, or Wonjerque, the king's ferry, is about thirty-five miles to the South of that place. There the river is all in one stream, about a quarter of a mile wide, and running at the rate of two miles an hour, not being more than ten or twelve feet deep in the middle; that place is also the great thoroughfare between North and South Africa. The master of the house in which Clapperton lodged at Comie, told him that the river is full of rocks and shoals nearly the whole way to Fundah, where it enters the sea, that being probably the place where it first becomes salt. The people of Benin go to Fundah by land, being prohibited by their god (Fetish) from travelling by water. The Kwarâ takes a sweep to the east, and having received the waters of the Kûdûnia on that side, bends round to the west and flows into the sea; so that there is now little room for doubting the truth of this part of Reichard's hypothesis,* or that the Rio Feroso or river of Benin is one, if not the only mouth, by which the Jâlibâ communicates with the ocean.

The western side of the river, which Clapperton now quitted, is occupied by a people who, if their own account is to be trusted, came originally from Bornû; and the fact of their speaking a different language from the negroes, whom they call the aborigines, seems to corroborate this assertion. That tribe is named Cambri, and consists of tall men, more stupid-looking than wild,

* See Von Zach's *Monatliche Correspondenz*, (V. p. 410.) After having distinctly shown, from well-established facts respecting the mountains to the south and east of the Niger, that it could not join the Rio dos Camaraos, much less the Zaïre, "these considerations," he says, (p. 413,) "give a little more probability to the supposition that the Niger joins some of the western rivers near the Camaraos." The high mountains to the east of that river, he adds, are probably a part of the Kumri Range, and the Niger, passing to the west of them, enters the sea by the rivers of Benin, New Calabar, Banni, Del Rey, &c. which appear to form a delta at the mouth of a great stream.

gentle and unwarlike; and, therefore, often ill-used by their rulers; they are Pagans, and offer hippopotamuses and alligators to their gods. They have probably been driven southwards by more powerful tribes; a change of position which the various invasions of the Romans, Goths, and Saracens, must have occasioned more than once in Africa: and the traditions of the Fulás on the western coast, if Mollien is to be trusted, confirm that supposition. On the 10th of April, Captain Clapperton crossed the Kwará, and on the 12th reached Tabra, a town built on each side of the Mê-yarrô, a considerable stream flowing from the north-east into the Kwará. Here he met with the first bridge he had seen in Africa; and he was detained and afterwards carried out of his way to see one of the rival kings who were fighting for the throne of Nifê. The one whom he was obliged to visit, had turned Muselmân, and was named Mohammed el Magia. He had called in the assistance of the Fellâtahs, who, as Clapperton observes, (p. 129,) "will remove him out of the way the moment he is of no more use to them." This detention prevented the party from leaving Tabra till the 2d of May, but they reached Kulfû or Kulfî, which is not above ten or twelve miles off, on the same day. This is the principal trading place in Nifê, and a central mart for that part of Africa. It is on the north bank of the Mê-yarrô, (not some miles to the south, as placed in the map,) has daily markets, and before the civil war broke out, was frequented by traders from Benin and Jabô as well as Bornú and Haúsâ. Cloths and salt are brought from the west; pepper, of different kinds, (one of them called kinba, probably the kumbah of Dâr-fur, (*Browne's Travels*, p. 355;) and red wood from Benin and the sea coast of Yuribâ. Natron, Venice beads and unwrought silk are carried back in return. But from Haúsâ and Bornú, European manufactures find their way to Kulfî, and Gurú or Kôla-nuts, from Gonjah and the South and West. The slaves for sale who are brought principally from Kabi, Yâurî, and Zamfarâ, are kept so closely confined, that "a stranger may remain a long time in the town without seeing any of them," (p. 138,) unless when exposed to sale. Of such, Captain Clapperton says, "I have seen the aged, infirm, and the idiot, also children at the breast, whose mothers had either fled, died, or been put to death." The domestic slaves, however, are well treated, and considered as members of the family. The greater part of the inhabitants of Kulfî, whose numbers are upwards of 12,000, call themselves Mohammedans, the rest are Pagans, apparently of the same faith as those in Yuribâ, a dialect of whose language they speak. All that could be learnt respecting their religion, was, that they meet once a year on a high hill in one of the southern provinces, and sacrifice there

a bull, sheep, and dog, all black, (p. 142.) They are civil and cleanly; fond of painting and sculpture, but loose and drunken; good-natured, however, and apparently susceptible of great improvement. The surrounding country is a level plain, well cultivated and studded with little walled towns, and villages along the banks of the Mè-yarrô, and its tributary streams.

Clapperton having been detained more than six weeks at Kulfû, by his own and his servant Richard's illness, left it on the 19th of June, and at Wazo, about forty miles further, began to ascend the hills which form a part of the south-western extremity of that great chain running through Ya'kûbâ and Adâmâwâ, and forming, to all appearance, a continuation of the Jebel-el-cumri or Mountains of the Moon; for Dâr-cullah, placed by Mr. Browne in lat. 9° N. and long. 18° E., is evidently at the foot of the northern declivity of that range, and the hills of Musgow seen by Colonel Denham are in 8° N. and 16° E., barely two degrees west of Dâr-cullah, which, from information lately obtained, appears to have been placed too much to the north and east by Mr. Browne. If this conjecture prove correct, each extremity of that great chain, stretching from the shores of the Red Sea to the banks of the Niger, has been already determined. But to return to the travellers:—on the 28th of June they passed through Womba, in $10^{\circ} 35'$ N. and $7^{\circ} 20'$ E., a town containing 10,000 inhabitants, and a halting place for the caravans from the east and west. This tract was a part of Kashnah, when, at the time of Bello's conquest, but after his death, it, and some of the neighbouring provinces, formed a confederacy and threw off the yoke. When attacked by the common enemy they are united; but at other times continually quarrelling among themselves; and more than one town was passed in this journey, the natives of which are always at war with their nearest neighbours. At Guari, the capital of a territory bearing that name, and adjoining to Zegzeg, the southernmost of Bellô's provinces, the chief, though at war with the Fellâtahs, received the strangers most hospitably, and gave them an escort to Fatika, the first town beyond his boundaries. Zamfarah, Gubir, the northern part of Kashnah, Guari, and Kotongkora, were the states which confederated to recover their independence. They were afterwards joined by Kabî, Yaûrî, Daûrâ, and the southern part of Zegzeg. Guari, the capital of which is in $10^{\circ} 54'$ N. and $8^{\circ} 1'$ E., owes its strength to its hills and woods rather than to its cavalry; though it boasts that it can bring a thousand horse into the field. On the day after he left that place, Captain Clapperton reached Fatika, and had the happiness to find himself in Bellô's territory, and in two days more entered Zaria, the capital of

Zegzeg.* It is in $10^{\circ} 59' N.$ and $8^{\circ} 42' E.$, and was taken by the Fellâtahs in 1800, or about that time. Its inhabitants are all Fellâtahs, and famed for their rapacity; they are Muselmâns, and can boast of a mosque with a minaret upwards of forty feet high. The population of the place may amount to 40,000, and many of them come from Fûtah Tôrrah and Fûtah Bundah, the country containing the sources of the Senegal and Gambia. "They are not improved," says Clapperton, (p. 159,) "by their acquaintance with the French and English, but rattle over the names of the towns between Sierra Leone or the Senegal and Timbuctoo, like A, B, C, then sit down, and will not start until they get something." The surrounding country is beautiful and productive; and is separated to the south, from the sea by mountains inhabited by Pagans.

On the 17th July, he again entered the province of Kanô, stopped at Dunchow, (the courtier-like governor of which made fine promises with no intention of keeping them, and apologized with the utmost ease and politeness,) travelled through a well-cultivated and populous country; and at Bêbégí, within sight of Kanô, got some wheat, the first he had seen since he left England. This town is in $11^{\circ} 34' N.$ and $9^{\circ} 13' E.$, standing, as it were, in the midst of a large plain, having in sight, from a granite mount, about a musket-shot outside of the southern gate, the hills of Nora,* about ten miles East; to the South, the mountains of Surem, distant about twenty-five miles; to the West, one or two of the hills of Aushin in Zegzeg; to the North, a plain bounded only by the horizon; and the two mounts within the walls of Kanô were just distinguishable, bearing North-East by North. The population is upwards of 20,000; and here there are houses of three stories, numerous mosques, beside the jâmi' or cathedral, and, in short, the elements of civilized life. Most of the inhabitants are refugees from Bornú and Wádái, engaged in trade, and cleanly, civil and industrious. On the 20th of July he quitted that town, and in the evening again entered Kanô.

There he found his former agent, Hâji Hat-salah, a native of Aûjilah, who appears, from information here given, to have been a great rogue, with the rest of the Moors, much dispirited on account of the war between Bornú and the Fellâtahs; but impatient to advance, he set off on the 24th of August for Sakatú, leaving Richard Lander, still labouring under a dysentery, and Pascoe (or Abû Bekr, *Quarterly Review for April, 1829*, xxix.

* Or, Ziczic, as it is written in the MS. maps brought by Clapperton from Sûdân; but though so spelt, it is pronounced Zegzeg.

† Naroo in the map attached to the account of Clapperton's first Expedition.

597,) to take charge of his baggage. "I left them," he says, (p.173,) "with much regret, as I was in very bad health myself." The rains were now completely set in: it is therefore the more to be regretted, that Captain Clapperton did not allow himself some respite, and wait for Bellô's orders to advance. On the second day he had a severe fit of ague; and on the third, travelled through a complete swamp, "the men sometimes up to their middles in water for half an hour at a time," he himself being wet to the skin, tormented by a burning thirst, and hardly able to sit on his horse, till relieved by vomiting. On the following day he was joined by the Gadado, or Grand Vizir of Bellô, from whom he learnt that the letter sent by the route of Bornû, appointing the place on the coast, where Bellô's messengers were to meet him, had never been received. The Gadado advised his return to Kanô, on account of the state of the roads to the westward; and he answered, that, on account of his ill health, he would follow his advice.

On the 11th of October his pocket journal was stolen, and it appears never to have been recovered, so that nothing occurs respecting the month of September. This is the more extraordinary, as Clapperton was probably during that interval at Kanô; and Lander's memory (even if he kept no journal) would have supplied several of the leading circumstances, and served, in some degree, to fill up the gap:—but this is only one of the many proofs of the extreme negligence with which the book was prepared for the press, notwithstanding so long a time elapsed before it was published. On the day last mentioned, we find him on his old route between Zirmî and Kwârî, or Kwâlî, accompanying, as it appears, the Fellâtah army on an expedition against Gûbir. On the following evening he reached the Gadado's camp on the borders of a string of lakes and swamps, which extend almost all the way between Zirmî and Sakatû. These are the lakes of Gondamie, mentioned in his former narrative: their borders were, at that season, very beautiful; the acacias in full blossom, and their yellow and white flowers, contrasted with their dusky foliage, hung like gold and silver tassels on a robe of dark-green velvet. It is probable, also, that some perfumed the air with their fragrance. The sun near the horizon, throwing their images over the surface of the lakes, then as smooth as glass, spangled it with gold and silver, while fishes leaping out of the water; soldiers bathing or watering their cattle; fires smoking on the banks; huts of grass or boughs, rising as if by magic; sounds of horns, gongs, and trumpets, horses snorting, and asses braying, mingled with the shouts of Mohammed, Omar, Mustafâ, Ali, on all sides "gave a cheering animation to the beautiful scenery of the lake, and its

sloping, green, and woody banks." (101.) The 15th of August, after a difficult and fatiguing journey through the swamps, at length brought him to the court of Bellô:—the loss of his books and papers seems at that period—and, no doubt, his illness, though he perhaps was not aware of it—to have preyed much on his spirits, and for the first time he says, (p. 182,) "I cannot but feel a disposition to despond; but I trust things are now at the worst." Bellô's reception was most kind and courteous: he said he had not received any of the letters sent by Clapperton from Bornû, by the way of Ghadâmis, or from England; but, on hearing of his arrival at Katungâ, had sent a messenger thither, and another to Kulfû, to meet him. On the 16th Clapperton accompanied the army in an attack upon Kûnia, the capital of the Gûbir rebels.

"It was," he says, (p. 189,) "as poor a fight as can possibly be imagined; and, though the doctrine of predestination is professed by Mahomedans, in no one instance have I seen them act as men believing such a doctrine. The feudal forces are most contemptible; ever more ready to fight with one another than they are with the enemy of their king and country, and rarely acting in concert."

During the night they were cut off from water by the inhabitants of Kûnia, and the troops from Zirmî, together with all the foot, having taken a sudden panic, deserted pell-mell, so that the whole army was obliged to retreat with the greatest haste and confusion, and on the afternoon of the 20th Clapperton once more took possession of the house in Sakatû, which he had occupied during his former visit.

On the 26th, as Bellô was remaining at Magaria, in the province of Ader, or Tadela, a few miles south-east of Sakatû, on account of the war, Clapperton went thither; but an enlargement of the spleen, increased by cold and fatigue, prevented him from having an interview immediately after his arrival. On the following day, however, he delivered his presents; and, what is odd enough, says nothing about the manner in which they were received. But, the next day, Bellô's doctor and private secretary came and informed him, as from the Sultân, that he would be sent home by any road he chose, even by Bornû, if he wished it, but that he would do well to consider whether that would be advisable, as the Sheikh el Kânemî had written to recommend his being put to death, adding, that the English, if encouraged, would dispossess the Sultâns in Africa, as they had those in India. To this Clapperton answered, that this was so contrary to the Sheikh's conduct to himself and the Englishmen he left in Bornû, that he must beg to see this extraordinary letter, the more so, as he had a letter and presents from the King of England for the Sheikh. The

letter, he was told, had been sent to Gondo: and the route proposed was through Borgû, along the northern borders of the desert, to the boundaries of Fûtâ Tôrâ; and thence southwards through a country belonging to Bellô (Bondû or Fûtâ Jállô?) inhabited by Fellâtahs, and not far from one of the English settlements. The Gadado, next day, denied that any such letter, as that mentioned by Sîdî Sheïkh, had been received: the Sultân, however, entered upon the subject, of his own accord, at a subsequent audience, and alleged that the letter, though not signed by the Sheïkh, was written with his sanction. Nothing of importance seems to have occurred till the 18th of December, when a messenger from Kanô brought intelligence that Richard Lander, with Hâjî Hat-salah, were at the Sanson, or border town of Zamfarah, having been sent for by the Sultân's order. This at first surprised Clapperton; but hearing that Pascoe, the Haûsâ negro, who came with him from the coast, had repeatedly run off with some of his property and been retaken, he concluded that this order had been given for the purpose of placing his baggage under his own eyes. A day or two afterwards, however, the Sultân sent two of his confidential servants to ask whether he had really come as a messenger from the King of England to Bellô, or merely to seek a road; and that he might return either by Timbuktû, Morzûk, or by the way he came. He answered that, after such a message, he could have no further communication with them. On the following day he was informed, that all they wanted, was to see the letter to the Sheïkh of Bornû, not to open it, but merely to see it. In the meantime the baggage arrived, and Pascoe a prisoner, in consequence of his having repeatedly absconded after robbing his master: notwithstanding which no punishment was inflicted upon him. At an interview the next day, the Sultân told Clapperton, "that between himself and the Sheïkh of Bornû there was war, and that therefore, though he had come from the King of England, he would not allow him to go on; but that he must choose one of the three roads which were open, and return by it." He answered, that the war between the Fellâtahs and Yuribâ rendered it unsafe for him to try that road; that nothing could be more hazardous than to attempt returning by Fûtâ Tôra, where a Fellâtah, with nothing but a staff and a shirt, could scarcely pass without being murdered; that he had not the means of purchasing the camels requisite for crossing the desert; but that, if he would allow him to go by Bagermeh, Dâr-fûr, and Egypt, he would go at all risks." Bellô replied, "that was just going by the way of Bornû." The letter to the Sheïkh was then asked for, and Clapperton was invited to open and read it. He answered, "it was as much as his head was worth to do such a

thing; and that he hoped Bello would not break his promises and his word for the sake of seeing the contents of that letter, which he had lying beside him." He was then dismissed, (the Sultân keeping the letter to the Sheïkh,) and found his worthy servant, Pascoe, at the door, waiting for an audience. A few days afterwards the Gadado, or Vezir, came and claimed the arms and ammunition, "which," he said, "according to the letter to the Sheïkh, Clapperton was carrying to him." The latter declared that the letter could contain no such account, as he had no arms but what belonged to himself and his servants. He then showed the presents intended to be delivered at Bornû. The Gadado answered, "They wanted nothing of his, but would take whatever belonged to the Sheïkh, as he was making a very unjust war upon them, and they would not allow any one to carry arms or warlike stores to him." Clapperton replied, "That they were acting like robbers, in defiance of all good faith; that no people in the world would act so; that they had far better have cut off his head, than do such an act; and that he supposed they would do that, when they had taken everything from him." The Gadado moved off in a great passion, not forgetting, however, to take the present for the Sheïkh with him. A message was soon afterwards sent from the Sultân to say, that he did not wish to do or say anything unpleasant to him; all that he wanted to know was, whether he had any arms or warlike stores for the Sheïkh; and that, if he had, that they should be given up. He answered, "That all that he had for the Sheïkh, they had already taken."

Poor Clapperton was all this time continually tormented by the swelling in his spleen, which, no doubt, accelerated the crisis then approaching. On the 29th of December he says,—“ I applied a large blister to my side, as, from the enlargement of the spleen, it gave me great pain, having increased to such a size that I was unable to eat, and had little or no rest.” On the 16th of January, 1827, he had an audience of the Sultân at Magaria, and was told that, as soon as the roads were secure from the rebels, he should be sent with a Fellâtah by the way of Azben to Tripoli, and should, in the meantime, be allowed to make an excursion into the country of Ya'côbah. On the following day a small câfilah (caravan) of Arabs arrived from Timbuktû, one of whom had seen Major Laing, and said he had lost his hand in an attack made on him in the night by the Tawâric. (p. 241.) Clapperton had previously heard that Timbuktû is now in the possession of those ferocious Berbers. (p. 202.) He seems to have remained unmolested, and, in fact, to have been civilly treated as soon as Bellô was satisfied that he had nothing to carry to Bornû. In February, 1827, he went on a shooting excursion to Magaria, and, in an

interview with the Sultân soon after his return, had a promise of the skins of some wild hogs, which he could not procure himself without being exposed to inconvenience and obloquy on the part of the rigid Muselmâns. Bellô asked him whether the English eat pork : he answered that they did, but sparingly, and that it was very good when well fed ; much better than dog's flesh, which is sold publicly in the market at Tripoli. This account Sîdî Sheïkh, who had just come in, confirmed. The Sultân said, " It was strange what people would eat ; in the district of Umburm, belonging to Yacoba, they eat human flesh." (p. 250). He added, " That he could hardly believe it himself ; but that, on a Tawarrick's being hanged for theft, he saw five of these people eat a part, with which he was so disgusted, that he sent them back to Yacoba soon after." They will not eat those who die of a natural death, and therefore kill all who have the least indisposition, that their carcases may not be lost. " They are Kâfirs," he said, " and go stark naked, but are cleanly, and, in other respects, very good kind of people. In short, he would send some of them to the King of England, to prove that such was the fact." Clapperton very naturally said, " He would rather be excused taking them, as the king and people of England would be too much disgusted at seeing such a sight." " You will see them yourself," said Bellô, " when you go to Ya'côbâ, and I will write to the governor to show them to you." He then promised to send him through that country, Zanfarah, Adâmâwâ, and Kanô, a territory south of Zegzeg, and bordering on the sea, to the coast. " The sooner the better," said Clapperton, who now supposed himself much recovered from his liver complaint. In a week's time some Pagan negroes came with the wild-boar skins according to Bellô's promise. Things appear to have continued in this state till the middle of March. On the 12th day of which month Clapperton's journal terminates by the mention of an interview with Bellô, who was in high spirits, on having completely defeated the Sheïkh, and just about to reply to his request to be sent home by Adâmâwâ and Kanô, near the coast, when a number of the principal people came in to offer their congratulations on the Sultân's success, and broke off the conference.

The sequel of this melancholy tale would not have been known but for the journal of Clapperton's faithful and intelligent attendant, Lander. From it we learn, that, on the very day last mentioned, his master was attacked with dysentery. A most violent and incessant perspiration contributed greatly to debilitate him, and, as it was in the month of Ramadân, the native servants would give no assistance. The heat was insufferable—the mercury in the thermometer mounting to 109 degrees at three P.M. in the coolest

place about the house. On the sixth day he was too weak to bear being moved from his bed. He once only attempted to sit up for the purpose of writing, but sunk back, completely exhausted, before paper and ink could be brought. At first he fancied he might have been poisoned; but on further reflection, recollected that having, in one of his shooting excursions in the early part of February, lain down on the ground, which was soft and wet, after walking all day exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, he had never from that moment been free from cold. "This," he added, and no doubt too truly, "has brought on my present disorder, from which, I believe, I shall never recover." (p. 272.) For twenty days he gradually wasted away, till he became a mere skeleton; saying that he felt no pain, but concealing his sufferings, as Lander supposes, in order to comfort him. "I read to him daily," he continues (p. 273), "some portion of the New Testament and the 95th Psalm, which he was never weary of listening to, and on Sundays added the Church Service, to which he invariably paid the profoundest attention." This constant fatigue, anxiety and watching, soon threw poor Lander into a fever; and finding himself unequal to give the necessary attention, he solicited and obtained his master's consent to call in old Pascoe to his assistance. On entering, the latter fell on his knees and prayed to be forgiven, promising to be faithful in future. Clapperton immediately granted his pardon, and promised to forget what had passed, if he conducted himself well. On the 1st of April, aggravated symptoms appeared: the little rest he could obtain was still more broken—small doses of laudanum were taken without effect, but, in truth, he had scarcely any recourse to medicine during the whole of this illness. On the 9th he, contrary to his usual caution, allowed one of his attendants, a native of Bornú, to give him a decoction of the green bark of the butter-tree. On the following morning he found himself much worse, and about noon said to Lander, "Richard, I shall shortly be no more, I feel myself dying." "God forbid! my dear master," replied Lander, almost choked with grief, "you will live many years yet." "Don't be so much affected, my dear boy, I entreat you," said Clapperton, "it is the will of the Almighty; it cannot be helped. Take care of my journal and papers after my death." He then gave very precise directions as to what should be done after his decease, directions strongly marking his natural good sense, kindness of heart, and perfect calmness at that trying moment. "I said," continues Lander, "as well as my agitation would permit me, if it be the will of God to take you, you may rely on my faithfully performing, as far as I am able, all that you have desired; but I trust the Almighty will spare you, and you

will yet live to see your country." "I thought I should at one time, Richard," he replied, "but all is now over; I shall not be long for this world: but God's will be done!" "He then," says his faithful servant, "took my hand betwixt his, and looking me full in the face, while a tear stood glistening in his eye, said, in a low but deeply affecting tone, 'My dear Richard, if you had not been with me I should have died long ago; I can only thank you, with my latest breath, for your kindness and attachment to me, and, if I could have lived to return with you, you should have been placed beyond the reach of want, but God will reward you.' " This conversation occupied nearly two hours, in the course of which Clapperton fainted several times, and was distressed beyond measure. At six o'clock, on the following morning, he said he was much better, and desired to be shaved, but had not sufficient strength to lift his head from the pillow. On looking at his face in the glass he observed, that he had recovered from as severe an illness at Bornù, and even on the next day had a return of appetite, which revived Lander's hopes: but, on the morning of the 13th, the latter was alarmed, on waking, by hearing a peculiar rattling noise in his master's throat, and at the same instant he called out "Richard!" in a low and hurried tone.

"I was immediately at his side," continues Lander, "and was astonished at seeing him sitting upright in his bed, and staring wildly around. I held him in my arms, and, placing his head gently on my left shoulder, gazed a moment on his pale and altered features: some indistinct expressions quivered on his lips: he strove, but ineffectually, to give them utterance, and expired without a struggle or a sigh."

The distress of poor Lander may be more easily conceived than expressed; and most applicable to his case are the unaffected and feeling observations by which Clapperton concludes his account of the death of his friend Oudney. (*Discoveries in Central Asia*, part ii. p. 33.)

"At any time and in any place to be bereaved of such a friend had proved a severe trial; but to me, his friend and fellow-traveller, labouring also under disease, and now left alone amid a strange people, and proceeding through a country which had hitherto never been trod by European foot, the loss was severe and afflicting in the extreme."

Captain Clapperton, as we learn from a Memoir of his Life prefixed to this work, was born in 1788, the youngest of six sons, and one of a family of one-and-twenty children. His father, a medical man established in Annan, on the Solway Frith, had little leisure to attend to the education of his children, and that of Hugh, the youngest by his first marriage, seems to have been much neglected. Reading, writing, and such a knowledge of the elements of mathematics as fitted him for the sea, was all that he

had been taught before he was bound apprentice, at the age of thirteen, to a trader between Liverpool and North America. In 1805 or 1806, he either entered or was pressed into the Royal Navy, and having been draughted on board the *Renommée*, at Gibraltar, had the good fortune to meet with one of his uncles, an officer in the marines, through whose interest he was placed by his captain, Sir Thomas Livingston, on the quarter-deck as a midshipman. In 1808, he was sent to the East Indies, and having been injudiciously ordered out in so high a sea "that a boat," to use a nautical phrase, "could not possibly live," he was in the most imminent peril, all hands having perished, except two, of whom he was one. He was nearly six feet high, and proportionably strong; and it is reasonable to suppose, that under Providence, his life was saved on this occasion by his superior strength. In 1815, while employed on the Lakes in Canada, he lost one joint of his thumb, from humanely carrying a poor boy for eight or nine miles on his back over the ice, to save him, as he hoped, from being frozen to death. The block-house, in which he was stationed, had been destroyed by a superior force, and his party had their alternative of being made prisoners, or travelling on foot sixty miles across the ice to the nearest British station. They chose the latter. The lad was unable to proceed, when they had gone only ten or twelve miles, but Clapperton's kindness was of no avail; on finding that the boy lost his hold, he apprehended what was actually the case, that he was in a dying state. The sufferings of the party were extreme; as independently of the season, they had only one bag of meal for their support. In 1816, he was made lieutenant, and from 1817, when the vessels on the Lakes were paid off, he remained in Scotland, occupied with the ordinary amusements of his age, till 1820, when he became acquainted with Dr. Oudney, then going out on a Mission into the Interior of Africa. Clapperton immediately entreated to be received as one of the party; his request was granted, and the result of his journey into that country is too well known to require any further notice. Such are the outlines of the life of one, whose undaunted spirit, love of truth, active benevolence, and truly British generosity of soul, will ever endear him to his countrymen, and render it doubly lamentable that he should have fallen a victim to that pestiferous climate, which has so often proved fatal to Europeans. It would be wrong, however, to allow our regard for Clapperton to close our eyes as to his errors; and when we are speaking of the climate of tropical Africa, we should not forget that a part of his sufferings was probably occasioned by imprudence.

As soon as the necessary attention to the remains of his master had been paid, Lander sent to the sultan to ask for permission to

bury him "after the manner of his own country:" and four slaves were sent at noon of the same day, to dig the grave. Jungavie, a small village, five miles south-east of Sakatû, was the place fixed upon.

"The body," says Lander, (p. 277,) "was taken from the camel's back and placed in a shed, whilst the slaves were digging the grave; which being quickly done, it was conveyed close to it. I then opened a Prayer Book, and amid showers of tears, read the funeral service over the remains of my valued master. Not a single person listened to this peculiarly distressing ceremony, the slaves being at some distance, quarrelling and making a most indecent noise the whole of the time it lasted. This being done, the union jack was taken off and the body slowly lowered into the earth, and I wept bitterly as I gazed for the last time upon all that remained of my generous and intrepid master. The pit was speedily filled up, and I returned to the village, about thirty yards to the east of the grave, and giving the most respectable inhabitants, both male and female, a few trifling presents, entreated them to let no one disturb its sacred contents. I also gave them 2000 cowries to build a house four feet high over the spot, which they promised to do."

But the promise was no sooner made than forgotten. Finding nothing done when he visited the spot next day, Lander hired two slaves who immediately set to work, and finished the shed on the 15th. In two days he was himself unable to rise from his bed, but Pascoe then redeemed his former misconduct by kindness and attention. The Arabs too made frequent visits; but apparently with mercenary views. The sultan also made many inquiries after his health, which seemed constantly declining till the 26th, when he began to recover with surprising rapidity. On the following day, the principal members of the sultan's cabinet came to search his boxes, which they expected to find filled with gold and silver; but to their great amazement, discovered that he had not money enough to defray his expenses to the sea coast. The watches he had prudently concealed about his person; but an inventory of all his remaining property was taken, and the ministers soon afterwards returned with an order for him to deliver all that the sultan wished to have, promising to pay in return whatever sum he should ask for them. In consequence of this, an order was given to him on Hâjî Hat-sallah, at Kanô, for 245,000 cowries,* the sum demanded. On the 28th, he was well enough to think of returning—and he judiciously conciliated the old câdî, Ibu Gumsô, by a present, in order through his influence, to obtain leave to depart. He also, with equal judgment, determined to take the road through Yuribâ, notwithstanding Clapperton had desired him to go across the desert. He

* Equal to about 50*l.* sterling, according to Clapperton's valuation.—p. 222.

wisely distrusted the Arabs, of whose double dealing he had seen but too much. The sultan said that the rains had made the country to the south impassable, and that he would send him under a secure guide across the desert. Lander, with his usual prudence, said, "Very well, sultan." Bellô then asked, "Whether Abdallah had in his book forgiven Pascoe," to which Lander replied, that "Abdallah was too ill to write." "Then the King of England will cut off his head," said Bellô. "No," replied Lander, "nothing will be done to him, if he behaves well in future." Bellô, who seemed in no haste to believe this, said, "I cannot suffer him to go with you: he shall stay here to clean and repair my guns." At length, on condition that he had a horse to return, and received 15,000 kaûris for wages, Bellô reluctantly consented to his going as far as Kanô. Lander, of course, agreed to this proposition, and having made a low bow, withdrew; nor did he ever see Bellô again.

On the 3d of May, he received an order to prepare for his departure the next day, with a promise of a camel and provisions—a promise which was never performed. On the following day he joined a large caravan of Kilgris silk merchants, pilgrims going to Mecca, gorô sellers returning to Kanô, and the King of Ya'côbâ with fifty slaves, all on their way to Kashmah, the great rendezvous of such caravans. On the road he was nearly overcome by heat and fatigue, when a young Fellâtah revived him by a small calabash-full of water. When reproached by his bigoted countrymen for giving water to a Christian—the young man pointed to his double-barrelled gun, and said, he obtained it from the Christian's countrymen, who would do no man any harm. It proved, on inspection, to have "Arnold maker, London," on its lock. Pascoe, instead of assisting Lander, was resting himself under a tree. The King of Ya'côbâ's slaves, unable from the loads they carried to keep up with the camels, had been left behind and were found dead on the road, having perished for want of water. That king afterwards became very familiar with Lander, and told him, that his neighbours and allies the Yamyams, after an engagement with the Sheïkh of Bornû, repaired to the field of battle, carried off the dead bodies, roasted and ate them. (p. 285.)

At Kanô, no money was to be got from Hat-Sallah, but goods and a slave were given as an equivalent; and by a timely douceur, permission was obtained to take Pascoe on to Kulfî, notwithstanding Bellô's order to send him back "to clean his guns." The old rogue wished to go back, for he had left a young wife of whom he was very fond, because she was a good cook, but on receiving another wife from Lander, his alarms and scruples va-

nished. Not having the means of paying his way across the desert, Lander determined to return by Fundah or the Kwarâ—in the hope of tracing its progress to the sea. He hired guides for that purpose at Kanô, and set out on the 29th of May. He actually got, without any serious accident, as far as Dunrora, supposed to be in $8^{\circ} 30' N.$ and $8^{\circ} 40' E.$ and not above 100 miles from Fundah, which he so much wished to reach; but just as he was about to set off for that place on the 19th of June, four armed men came galloping up from the Sultân of Zegzeg, saying, that the said august personage much wished to see him. All resistance he found would be vain; he was therefore obliged to retrace his steps. Some Fellâtahs belonging to that great king had unluckily met him on the road to Dunrora, inquired whither he was going, and hurried back to Zegzeg, with a report that he was carrying two asses laden with riches and a beautiful horse as a present to the King of Fundah.

On the way back he was seized with dysentery, and stopped on the road much against the will of his companions. When they reached the Kûdûniâ, a large river flowing from the north-east into the Niger above Fundah, it was so swollen that Lander found it could not be crossed without hazard, and therefore refused to proceed. His escort left him in great wrath and he remained for the next twelve days very ill, in a miserable village, the natives of which were stark naked and very civil; but could give him nothing to eat, except boiled corn, for he had no inclination to taste “their roasted dogs.” (p. 300.) On the 11th of July the messengers returned with a very civil message from the King of Zegzeg, and Lander therefore set out with them on that day, and on the 22d entered Zegzeg at noon, and was again lodged in the house of Abdu’l karîm, his former host. A present to the king (for Bellô had not carried off all Lander’s European goods,) was acknowledged by two fine bullocks, and the traveller was informed that it was a regard for his safety which had occasioned his recall. “Bellô being at war with the Sultân of Fundah, the latter,” said his Majesty of Zegzeg, “would have certainly murdered you, as soon as you were in his power, because you had carried presents to his enemy.” This friendly king was absent when the white men passed through his capital before, and that was probably the real cause of Lander’s being brought back from Dunrora.

At Guari, he was offered a recommendation to Fundah, the king of which was on very friendly terms with the chief of that place, but as his funds were nearly exhausted he was obliged to keep to his former path, where fewer presents would be expected, and where experience taught him to look for kind usage. Sub-

sequent events proved the justness of this determination; by carefully husbanding his needles, which served as a convenient article of barter, he raised *kaûrîs* for his support when requisite, and by judiciously distributing the few remaining yards of silk, caps, beads, &c. he had always some trifle to secure the good wishes of the chief through whose territory he passed.

At *Kulfô*, which he reached on the 15th of August, he was met at the gates by the woman in whose house he had lodged on his journey out, accompanied by the most respectable of her sex in the town. They expressed the most lively joy on seeing him; but when he told them that his father (so Clapperton was called by the natives,) was dead, they were deeply affected and made loud lamentations. Although she had a house full of strangers, the old woman turned out her lodgers to make room for Lander.--(p. 311.) There he remained five days, nor would his hostess part with him till he had promised to return again in two years time. On the 22d he reached the *Kwarâ*, (*Niger*,) now full one hundred yards wider than when he crossed it before. The 24th, after a fatiguing journey through swamps with heavy rain, again brought him to *Wâwâ*. The king was overjoyed on seeing him, much distressed by the news of Clapperton's death, and astonished that either of them escaped alive from the hands of such barbarians as the *Fellâtahs*. This was much the same strain as that in which *Bello* described the people of *Yuribâ*; and so throughout Africa will every tribe be found to speak of its neighbours. They know each other more as enemies than friends, and make themselves as odious by rapacity in time of peace as by barbarity in time of war. This worthy man was very unwilling to part with Lander, but had a still greater affection for his arms, so that his guest thought it best to let him have his gun and one of his pistols--reserving the other for his own defence. The king generously gave him 4000 *kaûrîs*, (a little more than a dollar,) in return for this present. Before they parted, he said to the stranger, "your countrymen may come here and build a town, and trade up and down the *Niger*: we know now that they are good men, but we did not think so when the white men who were drowned at *Busâ*, were in the country." On the 9th of September Lander reached *Kiama*, where he received the kindest treatment, with a promise of a safe conduct to *Bornû* for any one whom the King of England might send through that country. At *Môsâ*, he found the river bearing that name so much swollen as to be impassable for five days, and was near being starved by the niggardliness of the chiefs. *Pascoe's* dexterity, however, in stealing yams provided them with a scanty supply.

On the 25th he again entered *Katungâ*; was hospitably re-

ceived, but closely questioned as to the object of his journey into the interior, and lost his ass which was killed by poisoned arrows, and then served up as a feast for the court, a goat and 1000 kaüris being sent to him as a recompense. On the 22d of October he was dismissed with an escort and 4000 kaüris for his expenses on the road. On the 9th of November he visited Captain Pearce's grave at Engwa, and commissioned the chief to replace the railing round it, which had been washed away by the rains; and on the 12th he found Dr. Morrison's at Jannah, in a perfect condition. Here the horses given to him on the road died; but he arrived himself in safety at Badaghi on the 21st, and the king insisted upon giving up his own horses to him. Will it be believed—and yet there is unhappily no reason for doubting it—that this traveller who had passed unhurt through so many barbarous tribes, in the lowest state of civilization, should be exposed to the greatest risk by men who call themselves Christians, and have at least some tincture of European blood? But the account of this nefarious transaction shall be given in his own words.—(p. 325.)

“Three of the Portuguese slave-merchants residing at Badagry went to the king one day, and told him and his principal men, that I was a spy sent by the English Government, and if suffered to leave, would soon return with an army and conquer their country. This the credulous people believed, and I was treated with coldness and distrust by the king and his subjects, who seldom came to see me. All the chief men at length assembled at the fetish hut, and having come to a resolution that I was to drink a fetish, [*i. e.* a poisonous infusion like the red-water of Sierra Leone,] sent for me to appear before them. On my way five or six hundred people gathered round me, and I could proceed with difficulty. A great number of them were armed with hatchets, bows and arrows, and spears; and waited outside the hut till I came out. On entering, one of the men, presenting me with a bowl in which was about a quart of a liquid much resembling water, commanded me to drink it, saying, ‘if you come to do bad, it will kill you; but if not, it cannot hurt you.’ There being no resource, I immediately and without hesitation, swallowed the contents of the bowl, and walked hastily out of the hut, through the armed men, to my own lodgings, took powerful medicine and plenty of warm water, which instantly ejected the whole from my stomach, and I felt no ill effects from the fetish. It had a bitter and disagreeable taste, and, I was told, almost always proved fatal.”

His judgment here again stood him in good stead. The natives looked upon him as innocent and invulnerable; but as the wretches who had plotted his destruction took no pains to conceal their inveterate rancour, the king advised him never to go out unarmed. His enemies, however, succeeded in prevent-

ing him from making his arrival known at Cape Coast; and he would perhaps have been at last the victim of their machinations, had not the captain of a merchant brig lying at Whydah heard of his return, and kindly gone to Badagry in order to give him a passage to Cape Coast. From that place he sailed in the *Esk*, sloop of war, on the 3d of February, and arrived in England on the 30th of April, 1828.

Diffuse as this abstract will perhaps be deemed the reader must not suppose that every trait in the original is here brought, on a reduced scale, before him. Some amusing occurrences, some singular customs, and a rather detailed account of the government, institutions, history, and condition of the Fellâtahs, have been left unnoticed, that the thread of the narrative might not be broken. Clapperton, though no naturalist, was not wholly unobservant of nature, and there are hints in his journal of which the geologist, botanist, and zoologist will know the value. But there are some points which, as deserving of reprehension, should not pass unnoticed. The singular negligence with which the book was got up is manifest in almost every page. Clapperton appears to have written carelessly and in haste, and his hand was probably not very legible; hence continual blunders in the names of places occur, which might easily have been corrected by attention on the part of the reviser, but are not the less embarrassing to the reader. What, however, is much more reprehensible is, the publication of some passages which ought to have been struck out. In one place (p. 248) a sentence is made downright nonsense by want of a transposition, which any corrector of common sense might have discovered. All this does little credit to Mr. Barrow, under whose inspection the book was professedly printed;—the more so, as so long a time elapsed before it made its appearance. Its price also is more considerable than, considering its size and decorations, it ought to be. But how comes it to pass that these works, published by order of government, are made so costly as to be beyond the means of those who most want them? Not, we understand, for the pecuniary advantage of the bookseller, nor for that of the author—and surely it cannot be for any profit which the government itself derives from these publications? To whom, then, does the emolument go? This is a question the more pertinent, as it is said that the publication of the present work was delayed for nearly a year by the difficulty which the bookseller experienced in obtaining it on any reasonable terms.

Another subject of just criticism in many of these works is the style and execution of the maps accompanying them. In the book before us, the map is continually at variance with the text,

and between the names in the one and the other there is a perpetual discordance. But have we no scientific geographers capable of giving an account of the materials they use, that these maps must be constructed by mere mechanics? Why are there no memoirs, however short, to point out the principle on which the construction has been made, and distinguish what is well authenticated from that which is dubious? As Englishmen, it is with regret that we are compelled to contrast the useful but inexpensive style in which Cailliaud's *Journey to Meroë* was published by the French government, with the needless decorations and the defects which characterise most works of that kind printed by order of our own.

On the long-contested subject of the exit of the Niger, a few words will be expected before the conclusion of this paper. That the Kwârâ is the Niger or Jâlibâ which Park explored can no longer be denied; that it passes by Fundah appears equally indisputable; that it proceeds from thence through Benin, to the sea, will scarcely be doubted by any one who considers that Fundah, which cannot be far from $8^{\circ} 15' N.$, is very little more than sixty miles from the capital of Benin, which is very near one branch of the Rio Férmoso; more especially when he learns that the King of Yuribâ told Clapperton (p. 46) that the Kwârâ ran into the sea between Benin and Jabû; that the Sultan of Yâûrî "had heard people say that it went to Binî," (p. 103,) which Clapperton strangely mistook for Birni, and supposed to mean Bornû; and that Lander was informed, when in sight of Ya'côbâ, that the Kwârâ joins the salt water after passing Cuttum, Currijee, Gattoo, and Jabboo (p. 247). At Guârî he saw an eunuch, who was born not far from Fundah, and from him he learnt (p. 307) that his native country, named Gibboo, was on the banks of the Niger, four or five days' journey from Fundah. "He had gone by water from Gibboo to Fundah in eight days, the river running five knots an hour against him." Now whoever will look into Norris's map of the Slave Coast (one of the best we have of that part of Guinea), will see Jaboo Creek just opposite to Gato—both on an affluent of the Férmoso. "Jaboo," says Robertson (*Notes on Africa*, p. 301), "a viceroyalty of Benin, is situated between Lagos and the Formossa;" and in the preceding pages he mentions Gatto as "a town near the source of one of the tributary streams which fall into the Formossa, twenty miles from the shore." Yet, with such an accumulation of evidence before him, Mr. Barrow says, in his preface, "the question is still open to conjecture"! One is almost tempted to suspect that his mind must have been cast in the same mould as that of a certain contributor to the *Quarterly*

Review, who, in 1821, thought "all conjecture as to the Atlantic termination of the Niger perfectly nugatory" (Q. R. xxvi. p. 56); in 1822, called M. Jomard a fool for endeavouring to show that the Niger could not fall into the Nile; in 1823, did "not scruple to call the Yaou the Niger" (Q. R. xxix. p. 522); said, in 1824, "there could no longer be any question that the waters which rise out of the Kong Mountains, on the western side of Africa, empty themselves into the great lake of Bornou" (Q. R. xxxi. p. 469); observed, in 1825, that "the information obtained by Clapperton has entangled the question more than before," and, though the Yaou was no longer the Niger, declared "the junction of the waters of the lake Chad with those of the Nile," to be "not only possible but extremely probable"—notwithstanding there is a small interval of thirteen degrees of longitude between them. Now the basis of the opinion thus resolutely maintained, in spite of all substantial evidence, is nothing more than the report of most ignorant men, none of whom had traced the rivers in question, and many of whom were but half understood by the persons who consulted them;—and on such authorities were the tracings which disfigure the map in Denham's book marked, while the rational, well-supported, and, as it turns out, in part at least, correct theory of Reichard was scouted as ridiculous and utterly inadmissible, because certain chains of mountains stood in the way—which existed only in the brain of his opponent!

The papers in the Appendix are principally Itineraries, furnished by the natives to Captain Clapperton and translated from the Arabic by Mr. Abraham Salamé. They are some of the best documents of this kind yet brought from the interior, but would have been more serviceable had the proper names been given in the original character or spelt according to some invariable system of orthography—a defect which renders the vocabularies collected by our travellers of comparatively little value. A cursory inspection of these papers has suggested one or two observations which may not be useless. "Darwadar," mentioned in No. II. p. 333, is probably the French settlement on the Senegal called *Ndar* by the Wolofs and other natives. The Sarankali (p. 337) are doubtless the Serawoolies of Park, whose name is properly Sarahhwuli, changed into Saragolé (Çaragole) by the early Portuguese writers. Some persons will be much astonished to hear that they were "presumed to be Persians;" but the truth is that the presumption arises solely from a small mistake of Mr. Salamé's, who is not aware, it seems, that 'ajemî, the word used no doubt in the original, signifies "foreigner," "non-Arabian," and is only used in a special sense when applied to the Persians, the strangers with whom the Arabs, in early times,

had most intercourse:—'ajemî, in Arabia, is used just as *barbaric* was by the Greeks and Romans. Mr. Salamé is not, we believe, the only Orientalist who has fallen into this error; nor should his general accuracy be doubted on account of such a trifling oversight.

The vocabulary of the Yuribâ or Ayô language is, with one exception, the first ever published; of the Fellâtah, or Fulâ, more copious ones may be found in Barbot, Mollien, and particularly in Seetzen's Collections, published by Vater in the Königsberg Philosophical and Geographical Archives, (Königsberger Archiv für Philosophie, Theologie, Sprachkunde und Geschichte, 1811, I. p. 43). It is remarkable, that of the Houssâ or Kashnah tongue, which Clapperton had such ample opportunities of studying, no vocabularies have yet been published, except the short ones in the Annals of Oriental Literature and Captain Lyon's Travels in Africa; and it may be observed, that the language, at least, of the Fellâtahs gives no support to the tradition (p. 337) by which they are represented as a colony of Copts.

ART. III.—*An Historical Account of the Thirty-nine Articles, from the First Promulgation of them in 1553 to their Final Establishment in 1571; with Exact Copies of the Latin and English Manuscripts, and Fac-similes of the Signatures of the Archbishops and Bishops, &c.* By John Lamb, D. D. Master of Corpus Christi College. Cambridge, Deightons; London, Rivingtons. 4to. 1l. 5s.

AFTER the secession of the realm of England from the communion of the Church of Rome in the reign of Henry VIII., very little time was suffered to elapse before a substitute for the authority of the Pope and Councils in matters of religion was provided in a "Book of Articles devysed by the Kinges Highnes Majestie to stablyshe Christen Quietnes and Unitie, and to avoyde contentious Opinions," touching matters of faith and discipline. These Articles were set forth in 1536, and in the year following were succeeded by the "Institution of a Christian Man;" and which "Institution" came out in 1543 in a remodelled form, under the title "The necessary Doctrine and Erudition of every Christian Man." The publication of these formularies of faith doubtless tended to advance the doctrines of the Reformation, yet, had Henry lived a few more years, it may be doubted whether he would not have readopted many of those doctrines and ceremonies of the Church of Rome which he had temporarily abandoned.

On the accession, however, of Edward VI. to the crown of
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England, his attention was steadily directed toward the completion of that reformation of religion which his father had begun. Besides superseding the Popish ritual by an English Book of Common Prayer, the king and council directed Cranmer, in 1551, to compose a book of Articles of Religion, in order to promote an unity of doctrine, and with the intention of having it published by the constituted authorities. This prelate having accomplished his task, the Articles he drew up appear to have been submitted to the judgment of some other of the bishops, and to have remained in their possession until the beginning of the year 1552. In the May of that year the council addressed a letter to the archbishop directing him to "send the Articles that were last year delivered to the bishops, and to signify whether the same were set forth by any public authority." In obedience to this direction, the Articles were transmitted to the council: but in the September following we find that they were again in the possession of the archbishop; and that, after undergoing some alterations and revisions, they were soon afterwards presented by Cranmer to the king. It appears, further, that the Book of Articles was after this revised by some divines attached to the king's household—then again reviewed by the archbishop—and finally by him forwarded to the council with a letter requesting that speedy measures should be taken to authorise the bishops to require their respective clergy to subscribe to the Articles. So far the history of these Articles has not, we believe, been disputed. At this point, however, a question occurs, "Did the Articles of Edward VI. ever receive the sanction of Convocation? On the negative side of the question it is to be observed,

That there is no evidence that the Convocation in which these Articles are said to have been agreed upon, had any royal commission "to meddle with Church business," as Fuller has it. This fact is considered as amounting to a proof that no Articles were ever submitted to the Synod of 1552, since had that been the case, a circumstance so important in the history of the reformed religion could hardly have taken place without being noticed in some record or other. And this opinion seems next to be strongly corroborated by the very title prefixed to the Articles. Whilst the Articles of Religion, published in 1562, were set forth as "agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the *whole clergy*, &c.," of those set forth in 1552 it is merely asserted that they were "agreed upon by the bishops and *other learned and godly men*, &c." This difference in the titles of the two books of Articles has induced the learned editor of the work before us, to range himself on the side of those who have maintained that the Articles of 1552 "were drawn up by

individuals appointed by the king totally independent of convocation:" And it is not to be denied, that the difference between the expressions employed in the two cases appears to be material. Indeed, Dr. Heylin, a great stickler for the authority of the Articles of 1552, was so puzzled by the difference in question, that he seems to have thought to rid himself of the difficulty at once, by maintaining that "the Convocation had deputed their power to some grand committee sufficiently authorised to debate and publish in the name of the rest; and that, therefore, the Articles by them agreed upon ought, in all strictness of speech, to be held to be the act of Convocation:" but what authority for this theory the Doctor had, we have not yet been able to ascertain.

Another circumstance, which, in Dr. Lamb's opinion, goes to prove that Convocation did not sanction the Articles of 1552, is the answer to an objection which Weston, the prolocutor of the Lower House, made in the Convocation of the following year against a book called "The Catechism." The objection was, "that although the book bore the name of that honourable Synod, yet it was put forth without their consent." In reply to which, Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, observed, "that although many in that House might not have been made privy to the setting forth thereof, yet since it was drawn up by persons authorised by convocation to make ecclesiastical laws under a statute in that behalf provided, it might well be said to be done by the Synod of London."—*Historical Account*, &c. pp. 7, 8. Hence Dr. Lamb (having assumed, in a note p. 7, that Weston must have had his eye upon the title-page of the Articles,) argues, that the admission of Philpot, that the Catechism was drawn up by individuals and not by Convocation, coupled with the fact that the statute to which allusion was made, had expired before the obnoxious book was put forth, makes it clear that the Articles were "neither submitted to convocation or [nor] confirmed by act of parliament."

Let us now, therefore, consider those circumstances which bear a contrary aspect.

And, in the first instance, although it be admitted that the records of the Convocation of 1552 "are but one degree above blanks," yet it cannot, therefore, be concluded as a necessary consequence, that no business connected with religion was transacted in that assembly. For if evidence of this nature were conclusive as it regards the question in dispute, a strong presumption would obtain against the regular enactment of the statute of Elizabeth, by which hitherto we have supposed the Articles of 1562 to have been confirmed. The proceedings of the Lower House of Parliament, during the session in which the statute in

question is supposed to have passed into a law, "are so confusedly or briefly set down, that it is not possible to trace the bill through its second and third readings with any accuracy;" (*Historical Account*, &c. p. 25.) or rather it should have been said, it is impossible to trace those readings at all. But shall we argue, that since there is no record to show that this important bill ever passed one branch of the legislature, it, therefore, cannot be considered as having passed the House of Commons at all? We apprehend that our readers would not be disposed to regard an argument of this nature as very conclusive.

Nor, in the second place, do we lay so much stress on what Doctor Lamb calls the "ambiguous wording" of the title of the Articles of 1552, as on that account to conclude that they were agreed upon by individuals only of the bishops and clergy. By a reference to the Preface to the Articles put forth by Henry VIII. in 1536, it will be found that the members of both Houses of Convocation are designated by a phrase apparently as limited as the one employed in the title which is the subject of dispute. Thus, for instance, "We have caused our *Bishops and other the most discreet and best learned men* of our Clergy of this our whole realm to be assembled in Convocation, &c.:" and again, "We have caused, by the like assent and agreement of our said *Bishops and other learned men*, the said Articles, &c." In like manner we find (*For, Acts and Mon.* vol. iii. p. 16.) the Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation on the first meeting of that assembly in Queen Mary's reign, informing them that "it was the Queen's pleasure that the company of the same House, being *learned men*, assembled, should debate of matters of religion, &c." Nor must we omit to notice the manifest difference between the manner of describing the persons by whom the Articles of 1552 were agreed upon, and those by whom the Catechism of Edw. VI. was revised; whilst the first are said to be "*The Bishops and other learned and godly men*:" the other are described as "*Certain Bishops and other learned men*." Now, to our judgments, as the latter phrase confessedly limits the persons employed to selected individuals, the former is as comprehensive as those made use of in the Preface already referred to; and which we have seen applied to the members of both Houses of Convocation. In this conclusion we find ourselves coinciding with Fuller, who, though he would not admit that King Edward's Articles were sanctioned by Convocation, yet, when speaking of the Catechism, understands the phrase, "the Bishops and other learned men," to designate the members of that assembly. If, therefore, our conclusions on this matter be correct, the title to the Articles of 1552 instead of being "ambiguously worded," is expressed as, in

the language of that period, it naturally would be on the supposition that it had been intended to affirm that the Articles had been agreed upon by the whole Synod of London.

The argument against the synodal authority of the articles of 1552, which comes next to be examined, is that which has been deduced from the answer of Philpot, in the first convocation under Queen Mary, to Weston's objection against "a book called 'The Catechism'." And here we might, *in limine*, protest against the assumption, that Weston, whilst his cavils are expressly directed against the *Catechism*, yet "evidently alludes to the latter part of the title-page respecting the ARTICLES." (Hist. Acct. p. 7, note.) The drawing up of the Catechism in question was made matter of accusation against the Reformers on three several occasions; viz. in the convocation just mentioned, and in the disputations of Cranmer and of Ridley with the Papists at Oxford; yet on all these occasions, although the Book is charged as having been "so set forth as though the whole Convocation House had agreed to it," not the slightest allusion is made to the articles, from the title of which alone (according to Dr. Lamb) the Catechism derived its pretensions to a synodal authority. We are of opinion, therefore, that if the Book alluded to by Weston be that commonly known as the Catechism of Edw. VI. his objections must have been levelled against an expression in the royal injunction prefixed to the Catechism, which purports it to have received the sanction of "certain bishops and other learned men." There seems to be reason for supposing, however, that the Catechism alluded to by Weston and defended by Philpot, may *not* be that usually called the Catechism of Edw. VI. but some other book with which we are at the present day unacquainted. We find that when Cranmer was charged with setting forth the Book under consideration "in the name of convocation," his reply was, that he "was ignorant of the setting forth of that title; and that as soon as he had knowledge thereof he did not like it: that when he, therefore, complained thereof to the Council, it was answered to him, 'that the Book was so entitled because it was set forth in the time of Convocation'." (Fox, Acts and Mon. vol. iii. p. 50.) Now from this reply we collect, first, that the obnoxious Catechism was *set forth in the name of Convocation*; and, secondly, that it was *published whilst Convocation was sitting*: but as neither the one nor the other of these particulars attended the setting forth of that which is usually called King Edw. VI. Catechism,* we conclude that it must be some other Book to which Weston alluded. This conclusion seems also to derive confirmation from the manner in which Philpot defended

* The Convocation broke up April 1, 1553.

the Book. He speaks of it, as we have seen, as the performance of persons empowered by act of parliament to "make ecclesiastical laws;" which act expired at the end of January, 1553; whilst the Catechism of Edw. VI. was not set forth till May of that year. We think it manifest, therefore, that Philpot's observation must have had reference to a Book published before the latter period, otherwise he would have exposed himself to the charge of singular infelicity in appealing to the authority of a statute which himself, and everybody hearing him, must have been well aware had expired months before the Book it was intended to sanction had appeared. In connection with this question it may also be noted, that a licence bearing date September, 1552, was granted to John Day, "to print a Catechism both in Latin and English, which the king's majesty had caused to be set forth;" and another licence in March, 1553, "to print a Catechism in English:" of these the latter is usually considered to refer to the Catechism of Edw. VI., and might not the former be for the printing of the Catechism objected to by the Papists? If this supposition were admitted, there would be a propriety in the argument of Philpot in favour of the authority of the book, since the act of parliament to which he alluded would be at that time in force.

But to return to the Articles of 1552. We observe, in the last place, that whenever these Articles are referred to, their synodical authority seems constantly to be assumed. Thus they are described in Edw. VI. warrant book as having been "agreed upon in the synod of London:" they are similarly described in the letter of the same king to the University of Cambridge: they were received and acted upon in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign as being Articles legally authorised: and, finally, on the revision of these articles in 1562, they are recited as having been agreed upon by the synod to which that title refers. It must be borne in mind, too, that this continual ascription of authority to the Articles was made by persons who must have been well acquainted with the circumstances under which they were set forth, and in the face of Puritans and others disaffected to the church; yet amid all the unwillingness which many of the latter displayed to subscribe to the doctrines which the Articles contained, we are not aware that it was ever objected that their title claimed for them any authority which they did not possess.

We have ventured to dwell so long on this subject, because it relates to an interesting though obscure portion of ecclesiastical antiquity; and we propose now to give what we conceive to be the probable history of these famous Articles. It has been seen that they were drawn up by *Craumer* in 1551, and submitted to

the other bishops, with whom they remained till May, 1552; and we think that the fact of the Council's writing to Cranmer immediately after the breaking up of, what according to the computation of the Church of England would be, the Convocation of 1551, to inquire whether the Articles had been set forth by any public authority, makes it probable that they had been discussed in that assembly. But be this as it may, we know that, after passing through various revisions and corrections, they were, in November, 1552, finally presented to the Council, with whom they seem to have remained till the following year. In the beginning of March, 1553, the Convocation met, and we conjecture that the Articles were again submitted to that body to receive its sanction in their revised form; having obtained which, they received the royal assent, and were published immediately after Convocation was dissolved. We again remark, however, that we offer this merely as conjectural history; and yet we confess that we can account in no other manner so naturally as well as satisfactorily for the delay which apparently took place between the first drawing up of the Articles and their ultimate publication. On the hypothesis, however, that they were submitted to the Convocation of 1551, and were afterwards revised by private individuals, it would be necessary to submit the revised Articles to the next Convocation, which though it assembled in March, 1553, was yet, according to the computation of the Church of England, the synod of 1552.* Moreover, as this synod was dissolved in the beginning of April, and the Articles were set forth on the 20th of May, they were published, according to our conjecture, as soon after their first draft as due forms could possibly be gone through. But whether our conjectures be probable or otherwise, this we may venture to predicate, that if it be ever proved that the Articles in question were "drawn up by individuals appointed by the king, independent of Convocation," that circumstance must be established on other grounds than those on which Dr. Lamb has proceeded. By his reasoning in a note, p. 8, *Hist. Acct.* (if we have not misunderstood him,) the Doctor seems to consider that an act of parliament was necessary to authorise Cranmer and others to draw up Articles of Religion; and he consequently decides against the public authority of the Articles of 1552, on the ground that the statute which authorised persons to revise the ecclesiastical laws had expired before these Articles made their appearance. Now we have hitherto been

* This consideration, by the bye, clears up what appears to be a confusion of dates. In the title prefixed to the Articles they are said to have been agreed upon in the synod of 1552; whereas the king's letter, reckoning according to the civil year, has "in Synodo Loudiniensi, a^o Dni 1553."

accustomed to understand, that to authorise members of Convocation to discuss matters purely religious, the royal licence is a sufficient warrant; and consequently, that the act of parliament which Dr. Lamb lays such stress upon, was not intended to authorise the drawing up of Articles of Religion, but simply to accomplish a revision of the Canon Law; or the compiling of such laws as should be judged by the king and council "*convenient to be practised in all Spiritual Courts.*" Two acts had been passed in the reign of Henry VIII. to further this same object, in consequence of a complaint from the Commons, that though the nation was nominally delivered from the tyranny of Rome, the people yet suffered from the vexatious processes instituted against them in the Spiritual Courts, which still enforced the enactments of the old canon law. Hence we have always considered the statute enacted in the reign of Edward, with reference to making ecclesiastical laws, to have nothing more in view than the redress of this grievance. But be that as it may, this appears certain, that the royal licence was all the authority which the Convocation of 1562 possessed for debating upon and setting forth the Articles agreed upon in that synod; and we have heard of no other authority for exacting subscription to those Articles during the nine following years. When, however, in addition to ecclesiastical censures for refusing subscription to Articles of Religion, it was judged expedient to inflict civil penalties, we can see a necessity for confirming those Articles by an act of the legislature; and we accordingly find such confirmation to have been extended to what are usually called the "bloody Articles" of Henry VIII. and the present Articles of the Church of England. In any other case we apprehend that the authority to set forth Articles of Religion was, at the period we speak of, altogether independent of acts of parliament: and that with regard to the statute of Edward VI. in particular, to which reference has so frequently been made, the fact, that when it passed the House of Lords the Archbishop and several of the Bishops were among the dissentients, would lead to the conclusion that they did not require its authority in matters relating to faith.

Before taking leave of this note we will endeavour to rescue Strype from the charge of confounding things which differ: having done which we will leave the Articles of 1552 in the hands of our readers. Dr. Lamb observes, that Strype seems to confound a set of Articles respecting uniformity in Rites, with the Articles of Religion, respecting which we have been treating: a reference to Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, (vol. ii. part 2, p. 25, Oxford edit.) will show that he was well aware that the two were essentially different. He states expressly that Articles

respecting Rites were taken in hand, though he confesses himself to be unacquainted with their ultimate fate.

On the progress of religion, from the setting forth of the Articles of Edward VI. until the confirmation of them in a revised form in the thirteenth year of Elizabeth, it would be unnecessary to dwell. In tracing this progress, however, the ecclesiastical student may derive considerable assistance from the publication before us. The printing of the MSS. has brought to light the particular modification which the Articles of Edward VI. underwent in the hands of Archbishop Parker previously to their being submitted to the Convocation of 1562, and also the alterations produced by the discussions in the Upper House. For the particulars of these matters we must refer the reader to Dr. Lamb's Historical Account, observing only, that the alterations made by the archbishop and the corrections supplied in Convocation appear to have in view the more marked separation of the Church of England from the errors of Popery, and a desire to abstain from decreeing any thing to be an Article of Faith which could by possibility be considered a matter of "doubtful disputation." In things "hard to be understood," the proceedings of these venerable fathers are marked by a strict adherence to the letter of Scripture; presenting thus a singular contrast to the contemporary deliberations of the great Council of the Romish Church. Whether the Latin MS. be the very autograph which the postscript subjoined to it and to Wolfe's edition of those Articles states to be *in the custody of the archbishop*, has, as our readers may be aware, been questioned. The learned author of the work before us is of opinion that the MS. is the autograph itself, although he does not, so far as we can collect, give his reasons for adopting that opinion. We may hereafter, perhaps, have occasion to touch on this question, and therefore we shall pass on to notice a curious circumstance connected with the subscriptions of the Lower House of Convocation which are attached to the Latin MS.

"The subscriptions of the Lower House," observes Dr. Lamb, "are on one folio of paper contained within another; on the third page of the outer sheet or envelope are twelve names," [Johannes Ebden, William Evance, Andreas Peerson, John Price, Thomas Powell, Edmund Mevri, Nicholas Robynson, per me Robert Pownde, per me Hugonem Morgan, Richardus Barbar nomine Procuratoris mri. Franciis Mallet decani Ecclie Catholice Lincoln. præmissa subscribo, et etiam meo nomine præmissa subscribo, Robert Evance.] "and at the bottom the following sentence: *Ista subscriptio facta est ab omnibus sub hac protestatione, quod nihil statuunt in prejudicium cujusque Senatus consulti sed tantum supplicem libellum petitiones suas continentem humiliter offerunt.*

'This outer folio is no part of the inclosed document, but has been improperly placed here, either before or at the binding together of this volume.'—*Historical Account*, p. 21.

And afterwards it is added, that several peculiarities in the appearance of the MS. make it next to certain that the outer folio has been used merely as an envelope. This circumstance, coupled with the saving clause contained in the foregoing sentence, and the fact that all the signatures except two are found in a preceding page, induces Dr. Lamb to consider the twelve signatures to have been those attached to some other document, presented by the subscribers alone to the archbishop, and altogether unconnected with subscription to the Articles. It appears material to this supposition to remark also, that on the folio in which the main body of the subscriptions are found, "the verb is used in the past tense, *subscripsi* or *subscripsit*," whilst the verb connected with the twelve questionable signatures occurs "in the present tense, *subscribo*." The difference between the appearance of the outer and inner folios had been previously noted by Bennet in his Essay on the Articles, and the peculiarity of the sentence "*Ista subscriptio*," &c. has before time been the occasion of conjecture to writers on this subject; as has also been the fact, that the subscriptions of those whose names appear on the outer folio are found, for the greater part, in a foregoing page. On the difference in appearance between the folios we are not disposed to lay much stress, because we see no reason whatever for supposing that the members of Convocation used only one kind of paper, or that they would make a point of folding their documents in a particular way. In the wording of the sentence appended to the subscribers' names, however, there is some difficulty; for since their having agreed upon Articles of Religion, unconnected with the putting forth of ecclesiastical canons and constitutions, did not bring the subscribers within the statute of Hen. VIII., usually known as the "Act of Submission," we are at a loss to determine what could render it necessary for them to disclaim all intention of doing any thing which might be to the prejudice of the law. Then, again, if it had been found that the persons whose names occur twice had in each instance subscribed first in a procuratorial, and then in their individual capacity, that circumstance might have accounted for the double subscriptions; but such does not appear to have been the case. Still, against the hypothesis that the sentence and subscriptions in question are the remains of a document *distinct* from the Articles, it may be urged that, according to Bennet, the words "*Ista subscriptio*," &c. are written by the *same hand* which wrote the notice "*Hi quorum nomina sequuntur propriis manibus subscripserunt*," &c.

which is prefixed to the subscriptions on the inner folio; and that as the name of Todd, Archdeacon of Bedford, occurs *twice* among those subscriptions which are admitted to belong to the Articles, there will be as much difficulty remaining to account for his double subscription as for that of those of the twelve whose names are found on the outer folio.* We will now lay before our readers the conjecture which Dr. Lamb is disposed to make respecting this outer folio, considering it as he does merely as an envelope to the interior sheet which contains the veritable subscriptions of the Lower House of Convocation to the Articles of 1562. Quoting Fuller's Church History, the Doctor observes that—

“The only remarkable thing which passed in the Convocation of 1558 was certain Articles of Religion, which they tendered to the parliament, *i. e.* to the bishops that they might present them to parliament. These were the last of the kind that were ever presented in England by a legal corporation in defence of the Popish religion. They (the Articles) were five in number; the three first respecting the sacrament.”

After quoting two of the Articles, and the concluding clause of the petition in which they are found, Dr. Lamb proceeds:—

“May we not have in this stray document part of the signatures of the clergy to this very petition? As far as I can make out, the twelve names that appear were of the Popish party.”—*Hist. Account*, pp. 22, 23.

Now, though we admit most freely, with Dr. Lamb, that “we cannot at this distance of time say decidedly to what document” these signatures belonged, if they belong not to the Articles, yet when we lay before our readers a few particulars respecting some of the individuals whose names are subscribed, we are disposed to think that they will agree with us in conjecturing that this document was not connected with a petition *in favour of Popery*. We find, for instance, John Ebdon recommended to Lord Burghley as a very fit person (amongst others) to be commissioned to examine Recusants; which circumstance, taken in connection with his having voted in 1562 for altering some of the rites and ceremonies of the Church, would indicate that he had a leaning toward the Puritans. Then comes Andrew Peerson, one of Archbishop Parker's chaplains, who, from being so often employed in various offices of trust, seems to have enjoyed much of the archbishop's confidence, and was at length one of the executors of his will. As for Thomas Powell and Edmund Merrick, they appear to have been selected as proper persons to be appointed commissioners (the one under Parker and the other

* Among the subscriptions of the Lower House of Convocation to the Articles, in 1571, the name of more than one individual occurs twice.

under Whitgift) for performing archiepiscopal visitations. Nicholas Robynson we find to have been one of Archbishop Parker's chaplains, and afterwards Bishop of Bangor, and is mentioned as one of those who *suffered from the Popish party in Queen Mary's reign*.^{*} Of Robert Pounce, and two or three of the other persons, scarcely any thing is known, except that Pownde has been considered as identical with Robert Pownal, *one of the exiles for religion during the Marian persecution*. So that, with the exception of Mallet, and perhaps Barbar, the presumption is that most of the other subscribers were decidedly Protestants. Indeed, if we were acquainted with no other circumstance than that Robynson is known to have been obnoxious to the Papists, that would be, to our apprehension, in itself sufficient to render his joining in a petition in favour of Popery a thing altogether incredible. In fairness to Dr. Lamb, we will now give the substance of his reasoning in support of a contrary possibility. After showing that Mallet, one of the subscribers, was notoriously a Papist, he observes, that as the petition above mentioned in favour of Popery went far to deny the supremacy of the Queen and to recognise that of the Pope, the saving clause, "*Ista subscriptio, &c.* would as a matter of prudence be subjoined to the signatures;" and adds, moreover, that his conjecture receives countenance from the fact that

"The petition is in the present tense, *exhibemus*, agreeably with *subscribo* in Mallet's signature. '*Supplicem libellum petitiones suas continentem humiliter offerunt*,' [in the saving clause] exactly corresponds with '*humiliter supplicantes*,' &c. in the petition."—*Hist. Account*, p. 23.

Since, however, after all we adhere to old notions, and consider these apparently stray signatures as having been originally intended for subscription to the Articles of Religion, we regard further conjectures respecting them as useless, and will pass on with Dr. Lamb "to ascertain the identical edition of the Articles to which the act of 13 Elizabeth refers."—(*Hist. Acc.* p. 26.)

Our readers will recollect that the parliament of 1566 took upon themselves to legislate on "the great matter touching religion and church government;" that the following record of the first step they took in this matter is found in Sir Simon D'Ewes Journal of the House of Commons, under the date of Dec. 5. "The bill, with a *Little Book* printed in the year 1562, (which

^{*} Robynson appears to have been a famous preacher, and was on that account a likely person to become obnoxious to the Papists. Strype gives a specimen of a sermon of his, which appears to be among the papers of Archbishop Parker in the MS. library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

was the fourth or fifth year of her majesty's reign,) for the sound Christian religion, was read the first time;" but that the maiden queen, misliking this unbidden meddling of her "faithful Commons" in church business, contrived to have the bill stopped in the House of Lords. Thus the subject rested till the 13th of Elizabeth, when the *same bill* for sound religion was again introduced into parliament and passed into a law. The question then is, to what edition of the Articles does this act of 13 Elizabeth refer? Dr. Lamb is of opinion that it is to the English edition of Jugg and Cawood printed in 1563. Now whilst we fully agree with him that this is the edition referred to in the act of 1566 under the designation of "*The Little Book*," yet we think there are considerations which would lead to the conclusion that the "*Little Book*," and the one referred to by the 13th of Elizabeth as "*a book unprinted*," are not the same editions of the Articles. That our readers may, in the first place, have an opportunity of judging how far a contrary opinion is borne out by a comparison of titles, we will subjoin the titles (as they are found in the reprints by Dr. Lamb) of the "*Little Book*," and also of the English edition of the Articles printed under the direction of Bishop Jewel in 1571, placing between the two the title of the "*book unprinted*," as recited in the act of Elizabeth, and given in the Statutes of the Realm lately published by government from the original records. This we shall do, not because we think the question at issue can be determined by the titles, but because Dr. Lamb seems to consider it worthy of observation that the title of "*The Little Book*," as recited in the act, agrees word for word with the title of the edition which he has reprinted.—(Hist. Acct. p. 26.)

Title of the " <i>Little Book</i> ."	Title of the " <i>Book unprinted</i> " as recited in the Statute.	Title of the English Edition printed in 1571.
<p>"Articles wherupon it was agreed by the archbysshops and bisshops of both the provinces and the whole clergie in the Convocation holden at London in the yere of our Lord God 1562 accordyng to the computation of the Church of England, for thavoydyng of the diversities of opinions and for the stablyshyng of consent touchyng true religion. Put foorth by the queenes authoritie."</p>	<p>"Articles whereupon it was agreed by the archbisshops and bisshops of both provinces and the whole cleargie in the Convocation holden at London in the yere of our Lorde God 1562 according to the computation of the Church of Englande, for the avoydyng of the diversities of opinions and for the establishing of consent touching true religion. Put foorth by the queenes authoritie."</p>	<p>"Articles whereupon it was agreed by the archbishoppes and bishoppes of both provinces and the whole cleargie in the Convocation holden at London in the yere of our Lorde God 1562 according to the computation of the Church of Englande, for the avoiding of the diversities of opinions and for the stablisyng of consent touching true religion. Put foorth by the queenes authoritie."</p>

Now so far as the *wording* of these titles bears on the question the statute may, for what we can see, be considered to have re-

ference as much to the edition of 1571 as to that of 1563, or *vice versa*, although there are minute variations which seem to favour the claims of the former. Thus, in the orthography of the words "cleargie," "lorde," "Englande," "according" and the omission of "the" before "provinces;" in all which particulars the act and edition of 1571 agree with each other, but differ from the edition of 1563, would favour the supposition that the act recited the title of the former edition. So also the elision of the *e* which takes place in the title of the "Little Book"—"thavoydyng"—taken in connexion with the fact that similar elisions of a vowel occur almost without variation throughout the statute itself, would naturally dispose us to conclude, that if the title recited had been copied from that of a book in which "thavoydyng" had been found, the same elision would have been transferred to the act of parliament as being most consonant with the manner of writing at that time practised. Still, as we before observed, we do not lay any stress on circumstances like these. The considerations which seem to us to have most weight in this question are, the wording of the "ratification" subjoined to the revised Articles of 1571, and the difference which exists between them, and the Articles as contained in the "Little Book." With regard to the "ratification," it states that the "Articles before rehearsed were again approved, and allowed to be holden and executed within the realm, &c.;" and the Articles, as contained in the "Little Book," materially differ from those ratified in 1571, by the omission of the 29th Article,——"Of the wicked which do not eat the body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper." If, therefore, it be supposed that the statute of Elizabeth intended to refer to "The Little Book," as that which contained the Articles to which subscription was in future to be enacted, the hypothesis involves the admission that parliament referred to a book which they must have been well aware would not be allowed "to be holden and executed within the realm" at the time when their act should come into operation; but that the book which would be "allowed" contained an additional, and hitherto disputed Article, connected with the doctrine of the Sacraments, on subscription to which doctrine parliament was intending especially to insist. The articles set forth in 1571 would, on this supposition, have been rendered utterly nugatory; and every deprivation which afterwards took place in the case of persons refusing to read and subscribe these Articles on induction to a benefice would have been illegal and oppressive. We find accordingly that although the parliament of Elizabeth do not expressly name the edition of the articles to which their act refers, yet the legislature in the time of Charles II. took it for granted that the reference was to the edi-

tion of 1571, since the subscription enjoined by the Act of Uniformity passed in that reign is to the “Nine and Thirty Articles of Religion mentioned in the statute made in the thirteenth year of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth.” In confirmation, too, of this opinion, it may be stated that Burges, the non-conformist who maintained that “the act of 13 Elizabeth did not enforce subscription to the Articles as they stood in the time of Charles I. because they had in some things been altered from those contained in the book to which that act referred, is thus answered by Bishop Pearson: “I do absolutely deny that there is any substantial alteration of, or addition to, *those Articles mentioned in the act of 13 Elizabeth*; and do assert that the Articles to which the late king’s (Charles I.) declaration was affixed, are the same in number, nature, substance, words; as I am assured, having myself diligently collated them with an *edition of the Articles printed by Richard Jugg and John Carwood*, printers to the queen’s majesty, in *anno Domini 1571*.”—(*Letter to Dr. Burges*.)

It remains only to notice that part of the work before us which is devoted to the consideration of the disputed clause of the twentieth article; and in doing which it will scarcely be necessary to remind our readers that in most of the editions of the Articles printed previously to the reign of Charles I. the clause “*Habet ecclesia ritus statuendi jus, et in fidei controversiis auctoritatem*.” “*The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in matters of faith*,” is wanting. To account for this omission may not, at this distance of time, be an easy matter, yet we fancy that since the publication of Bennet’s Essay on the Articles, and the “*Vindication of the Church of England, &c.*” in answer to Collins, few have been disposed to maintain that the clause in question was omitted by the Convocation. Since, however, Dr. Lamb is of opinion that the clause was not in the twentieth Article as passed by that assembly, but that it was added by Queen Elizabeth or Cecil, we will briefly state what may be said on this subject, and leave our readers to judge for themselves. As the original registers of the Convocation, in which the Articles of 1562 were passed, unfortunately perished in the great fire of London, no evidence can be directly produced from them. It so happens, however, that an attested copy of that part of the registers which related to this question survived the originals, and seems to us to have decided the matter in dispute. The occasion of this copy being taken was the following: Archbishop Laud and the other prelates of his time were accused by the Puritanical faction of having *forged* the contested clause, it being confidently alleged that the clause in question was not to be found in any edition of the Articles previous to that of 1628. In answer to

that charge, the archbishop having exposed the falsehood of the allegation in the first instance, by appealing to four several editions of the Articles in his own possession all printed before the year 1628, (one of them as early as 1563,) and all containing the disputed clause, thus proceeded: "I shall make it yet plainer; for it is not fit concerning an Article of Religion, and an Article of such consequence for the order, truth, and peace of this Church, you should rely upon my copies be they never so many or never so ancient. Therefore I sent to the public records in my office, and here under my officer's hand, who is a public notary, is returned me the twentieth Article with this affirmative clause in it, and there is also the whole body of the Articles to be seen. By this your lordships see, how free the prelates are from forging this part of the Article." After making some observations on the probable reason why the clause was omitted in the edition of 1571, the archbishop continues, "And yet it is plain that after the stir about subscription in the year 1571, the Articles were settled and subscribed unto at last as in the year 1562, with this clause in them for the Church: for looking further into the records which are in my own hands, I have found the book of 1563 subscribed by all the Lower House of Convocation in this very year of contradiction 1571."—(*Speech in the Star-Chamber*).

From these extracts it is plain that Laud maintained that the contested clause was both in the original records of the Convocation of 1562, and also in the Articles subscribed to by the Lower House in 1571; and although the records to which he appealed were soon afterward in the possession of his most implacable enemies, not one of them ever ventured to question the truth of his assertions or attempted to invalidate the proofs by which his defence was supported. And when again, at a later period, Heylin appealed to the same record for proof of the same facts, his antagonist Fuller evaded the appeal, admitting thus that it could not be answered. Against this negative, but conclusive evidence, that the disputed clause of the twentieth Article was to be found in the records of the Convocation, there is nothing to be opposed but the authority of Archbishop Parker's MSS.; for since there seem to be as many early editions of the Articles which contain the clause as there are of those in which the clause is omitted, we may fairly leave the *printed* evidence to neutralize itself. With regard to the MSS. then, we admit that if they were the authentic records of the Articles as they were finally passed in Convocation, their authority would go to set aside the direct testimony of Laud and of Heylin to the question in dispute, as well as that which is so indisputably implied in the evasion of Fuller and in the silence of the Puritans; but we can scarcely imagine that

any person will dignify these MSS. with the title of *authoritative records*, who will take the trouble to consider that Archbishop Parker had no more right or power to dispose by will of the authentic records of Convocation than the lord chancellor has similarly to give away the records of parliament. This single consideration, independently of many others which might be adduced, (and which are fully pointed out in the books referred to above,) we deem sufficient to warrant the assertion, that how precious so ever these MSS. may be, they can be considered in no other light than that of *private documents*; and that their authority, therefore, on this question, cannot for one moment be admitted to invalidate the undisputed testimony of a public record.

Before we quit this subject we must point out one of the most remarkable oversights we remember to have met with. In enumerating the editions of the Articles in which the disputed clause is found, Dr. Lamb remarks that it occurs :

- “ 1. In the Latin edition of Wolfe of 1563.
- 2. In one [two?] of the later editions of Jugg and Cawood of 1551.
- 3. Occasionally, &c.

And in a note on the editions of Jugg and Cawood mentioned in 2, he observes—

“ Bennet, in his account of the Thirty-nine Articles, states that there are four editions of the Articles printed in English by Jugg and Cawood in 1571, containing the disputed clause : three of these editions, which he calls C, D, and E, agree, excepting their title-pages, in every page, line, word, letter, and stop; they all three have the same typographical error in the ratification—“*ascent*” for “*assent* :” and Bennet himself must at least have suspected that they were one and the same edition, although with different title-pages.”—*Historical Account*, p. 37.

After having read this note, we could scarcely believe our eyes when on turning to Bennet we found, in his chapter on the English editions of 1571, the following sentence;—“ In the first place, I observe (and this observation is of greater importance than the reader perhaps will readily believe) that the copies C, D, E, ARE OF THE VERY SAME IMPRESSION. This is evident from the workmanship, even to demonstration.”—(*Essay on the Articles*, ch. xxiii.) And what is also singular, after a minute examination of the typography of these three copies by which he incontestibly establishes the truth of his observation, he points out, among other things, the identical error in the ratification which Dr. Lamb has commented upon. How this oversight, therefore, on the part of Dr. Lamb occurred, we cannot divine; but we venture to say, that if he candidly weighs the evidence which Bennet adduced in the chapter referred to, to show that there were four editions of the Articles in 1571 containing the

disputed clause, he will be convinced that Bennet had some reason for his opinion.

We will now take leave of the “*Historical Account of the Articles*,” but not without expressing our obligations to Dr. Lamb for the publication before us, which, in many points of view, must be considered as a great acquisition to ecclesiastical literature.

ART. IV.—*History of the Commonwealth, from its Commencement to the Restoration of Charles the Second.* By William Godwin. Vol. IV. Colburn. London. 1828. 8vo. 16s.

IN this volume, Mr. Godwin brings his History down to the end of the first protectorate, but not to the conclusion of his original undertaking. In the course of his progress, the materials of his work, as usually happens, have exceeded his first calculation; and he now seems to hesitate whether he shall, in his own person, carry on the narrative to the Restoration, or leave the task to be performed by some younger and more popular writer.

On various accounts we applaud this abstinence on the part of Mr. Godwin; and more especially because we are satisfied that, from his strong political bias, he is altogether disqualified for giving a candid account of the transactions which paved the way for Charles, when he returned to occupy the throne of his father. It is well known, indeed, that almost every writer who has published lately on this interesting portion of our annals, has endeavoured to add a deeper tint to the dark colours in which the character of General Monk has usually been described by republican authors. Hence it has arisen that the reader who has no other object but to be informed, has the mortification to find the materials of history converted into subjects of declamation, and the most praiseworthy actions twisted into evidence of treachery, of cunning, and even of the most despicable selfishness. In this instance, candour has been cruelly sacrificed to party-feeling; and the very same persons who are ready to urge an apology for all Cromwell's tergiversations, and to ascribe the most questionable of the deeds which marked the latter portion of his government to political necessity, or even to the purest patriotism, avow a determination to make no allowance for Lord Albemarle, and not to afford to him the credit of one national feeling, or of a single generous sentiment towards his companions in arms. For these reasons we cannot conceal our satisfaction that the history of the Restoration is not likely to be written by the historian of the Commonwealth.

With every disposition to praise the industry and political

sagacity of Mr. Godwin, we dare not assert that this volume will increase his reputation either for research or for the wisdom of the practical maxims which he occasionally derives from the events which pass before him. He has not brought forward any facts which were not already known to the most ordinary reader of our national annals: he has not stated any new views of character; nor has he illustrated any occurrences which were formerly obscure. He has merely enlarged in some parts, and abridged in others, the common Histories of England which are in everybody's hands. Instead, therefore, of following his footsteps over ground so repeatedly beaten, we shall restrict the object of this Article to an outline of the life and government of Oliver Cromwell, and examine at some length into the basis of his reputation as a soldier, a statesman, and a religionist; making no farther allusion to the historical incidents recorded by Mr. Godwin than as they may serve to throw light on the several points just stated in the biography of the Protector.

It has often been remarked, that most men who have risen to eminence, in science, literature, or government, have owed more to the particular circumstances in which they found themselves placed than to transcendant ability or even to intense application. The tide in the affairs of the human being which carries him on to fortune, frequently arises from an influence as little connected with his own genius or intentions as the tide which moves the great ocean: and never did the history of any man illustrate the statement now made, in a manner so striking and instructive, as the early life of Cromwell compared with the power to which he actually attained, and the objects which he might have accomplished. His origin which was by no means splendid, and his talents, which were certainly not of the first order, furnish us, while we review his biography, with the materials for forming a contrast between what he was and what he achieved, rather than with the means of explaining how such a man should have risen to the height of supreme authority, in a nation peculiarly jealous of individual controul, and, at that period especially, distinguished by an unusual degree of vigour and independence in all classes of the community. By taking the lead in the wildest excesses of anarchy, he at length obtained the direction of the most daring minds. By trampling on the ancient laws of his country, he acquired the credit and reverence of a lawgiver. By opposing his sovereign as the most uncompromising of rebels, he raised himself to the rank of a king: and, in a word, although he commenced his career by the most frantic outrages, he had the good luck to terminate it in the repose of a settled government.

But thus it ever is in most things wherein one man chanches to

find a name and a memorial above his fellows. The genius and labours of many generations have been employed in collecting the materials, and in constructing the machine, which some happy mechanist is destined to put in motion and apply to the most valuable purposes; and when the time has arrived, and all the conditions are fulfilled, he has only to put forth his hand, when, behold! the wheels begin to revolve as it were of their own accord, and to realize all the hopes which were ever entertained by the most sanguine projector. To the philosopher, to the statesman, and even sometimes to the warrior, one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years are as one day; and nothing is more certain than that, in regard to the most splendid prizes which crown the ambition of man in this lower world, the race is not always to the swift nor the battle to the strong.

The great art of attaining success, in all commotions excited by political or religious change, is founded on the knowledge of character, and on the talent of directing to a particular object the passions of the multitude, and the ambition of their more active leaders. By this mastery over the feelings and designs of his contemporaries, Cromwell, there is no doubt, acquired the means of accomplishing the most arduous parts of his undertaking. He thereby broke the power of the parliament from whom he first derived his authority; wielded the mighty influence arising from religious sentiment; and, finally, induced the majority of a democratical government to accede to his desire of ascending the throne, as the avowed monarch of three kingdoms which he had in effect subdued.

It is now extremely difficult to ascertain what were the precise views with which he entered into public life, but it is manifest that his conduct at that period was marked with a deep impression of gloom and of restlessness, and, above all, by a rankling disaffection towards every person who moved in a sphere higher than his own, or who adopted measures which had not received his approbation. When admitted into parliament, he kept his eyes constantly fixed on subjects of complaint and matters of grievance; and, without having devised any particular scheme of reformation in church or state, he made no scruple to condemn all who had the management of political and ecclesiastical affairs. When asked, on one occasion, to express his sentiments in regard to these important points, and to declare openly what changes he might deem expedient, he replied:—"I can tell what I would *not* have, though I cannot tell what I *would* have."

"The first time that ever I took notice of him," says Sir Philip Warwick, "was in the very beginning of the parliament held in November, 1640. I came one morning into the house well clad, and perceived a

gentleman speaking, whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth-suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain and not very clean, and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hat-band, his stature was of a good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervour, for the subject-matter would not bear much of reason, it being in behalf of a servant of Mr. Prynne's, who had dispersed libels against the queen for her dancing, and such like innocent and courtly sports; and he aggravated the imprisonment of this man by the Council Table unto that height, that one would have believed the very government itself had been in great danger by it. I sincerely profess it lessened much my reverence unto that great Council, for he was very much hearkened unto. And yet I lived to see this very gentleman, whom out of no ill will to him I thus describe, by multiplied good successes, and by real but usurped power, (having had a better tailor, and more converse among good company,) in my own eye, when for six weeks together I was a prisoner in his sergeant's hands, and daily waited at Whitehall, appear of a great and majestic deportment, and comely presence."— *Memoirs*, p. 273.

The earnestness of manner and resolution of purpose which from the very commencement of his public life distinguished Cromwell, would of themselves, it is probable, have raised him to a political eminence sufficiently high to afford him the means of influencing very materially the fortunes of Charles, and at length of determining the issue of the contest between the parliament and the prerogative. But, it was in the field of battle, and as the commander of a gallant army, that he acquired his first power, and thereby opened up a path for his future progress towards military despotism. His success at Marston-moor seems to have expanded in his heart the prolific seeds of ambition, and to have spread before his eyes the seducing picture of regal honours, or at least of supreme authority; for, from that period, he pursued a uniform system of aggression both upon the parliament and the chief officers of the army, and at the same time exerted himself to render abortive every attempt to effect a peace between the king and his subjects. The conduct of the principal leaders in the battle just mentioned, showed, indeed, so little talent, and betrayed so much the want of concert and mutual confidence, that an adventurer less aspiring than Cromwell might have been tempted to plot for their removal, and to grasp at the command which they were not worthy to retain. It is true that his own personal courage was called in question on this memorable occasion, and that the credit usually attributed to him, of turning the tide of victory, was claimed for a rival. Lord Hollis, who, "it

must be admitted, was no friend to the reputation of Cromwell, maintains, on the authority of Skeldon Crawford, that the future Protector, towards the close of the combat, was very shy indeed.

“Those who did the principal service that day were Major-General Lesley, who commanded the Scots horse, Major-General Crawford, who was Major-General to the Earl of Manchester's brigade, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, who, under his father, commanded the northern brigade. But my friend Cromwell had neither part nor lot in the business; for I have several times heard it from Crawford's own mouth, (and I think I shall not be mistaken if I say that Cromwell himself has heard it from him, for he once said it aloud in Westminster Hall when Cromwell passed by with a design he might hear him,) that when the whole army at Marston-Moor was in a fair possibility to be utterly routed, and a great part of it running, he saw the body of horse of that brigade standing still, and, to his seeming, doubtful which way to charge, backward or forward, when he came up to them in a great passion, reviling them with the names of poltroons and cowards, and asked them, if they would stand still and see the day lost? Whereupon Cromwell showed himself, and in a pitiful voice said, ‘Major-General, what shall I do?’ He (begging pardon for what he said, not knowing he was there, towards whom he knew his distance as to his superiour officer,) told him, Sir, if you charge not, all is lost. Cromwell answered, he was wounded and was not able to charge; (his great wound being a little burn in the neck by the accidental going off behind him of one of his soldier's pistols;) then Crawford desired him to go off the field, and (sending one away with him, who very readily followed wholesome advice,) led them on himself, which was not the duty of his place, and as little for Cromwell's honour, as it proved to be much for the advancement of him and his party's pernicious designs.”—*Memoirs of Denzil, Lord Hollis*, p. 15.

We should place very little confidence in this accusation, urged as it is by one who was animated with the most violent personal dislike to Cromwell, did we not find the same charge recorded by Baillie, in a letter written about a month after the action.

“The men (Sectaries) are exceeding active in their own way. They strive to advance Cromwell for their head. They ascribe to him the victory of York, but most unjustly; for Humble assures us that Prince Rupert's first charge falling upon him did humble him so, that if David Lesley had not supported them, he had fled. Skeldon Crawford, who had a regiment of dragoons in that wing, upon his oath assured me, that at the beginning of the fight, Cromwell got a little wound on the neck, which made him retire, so that he was not so much as present at the service; but his troopers were led on by David Lesley.”

At a still earlier period, that is, fourteen days after the battle, Baillie writes to a friend, who appears to have accompanied the Scottish auxiliaries into Yorkshire, in the following terms:—

“We were both grieved and angry that your Independents there should have sent up Major Harrison to trumpet over all the city their own

praises to our prejudice, making all believe that Cromwell alone, with his unspeakably valorous regiments, had done all that service ; that the most of us fled ; and that (those) who staid fought so and so as it might be. We were much vexed with these reports, against which you were not pleased, any of you, to instruct us with any answer, till Lindsay's letters came at last, and Captain Stewart with his colours. Then we sent abroad our printed relations, and could lift up our face. But within three days Mr. Ash's relation was also printed, who gives us many good words, *but gives much more to Cromwell than we are informed is his due.*"

In truth it appears that the Independents were determined to ascribe the merit of victory to their favourite champion ; while the Presbyterians, on the other hand, were equally resolved to bestow the laurels of the day upon General Lesley. Both these officers, at the head of their respective cavalry, repulsed the royalists under Prince Rupert ; in the course of which service it is probable that Cromwell received a wound which disabled him from leading on his troops in the final charge, when their antagonists attempted to rally. We are the rather confirmed in this opinion by the remarkable circumstance, that the rumour of Cromwell's absence in the last attack was circulated at London within a few days after the engagement—a space of time which did not afford to his enemies an opportunity for fabricating a story altogether without foundation. The same fact is repeated by Salmonet (*Hist.* p. 160), and hence, as Mr. Laing observes, it is probable that Cromwell retired from the second conflict to have his wound dressed, while his brigade was led by Crawford or Lesley to the charge.

The world has been so much accustomed to hear insinuations against the personal bravery of the most distinguished commanders, that surmises similar to those circulated in regard to Cromwell no longer make any impression. But as we are at present reviewing the military character of the Protector, we may be permitted to remind the reader, that Lord Hollis endeavours to establish the charge, made on the authority of Crawford, by adding corroborative facts from other quarters.

"I have heard a parallel story of his valour from another person, (Colonel Dalbier,) not inferior either in quality or reputation to Major-General Crawford, who told me that when Basing House was stormed, Cromwell, instead of leading on his men, stood a good distance off, out of gun-shot, behind a hedge. And something I can deliver of him upon my own knowledge, which makes passage for the easier belief of both these relations, and assures me that that man is as arrant a coward as he is notoriously perfidious, ambitious and hypocritical. This was his base keeping out of the field at Keinton battle, where he with his troop of horse came not, impudently and ridiculously affirming the day after, that

he had been all that day seeking the army and place of fight, though his quarters were but at a village near hand, whence he could not find his way, nor be directed by his ear, when the ordnance was heard, as I have been credibly informed, twenty or thirty miles off; so that certainly he is far from the man he is taken for."

That Cromwell did sometimes think for himself when he ought to have obeyed the commands of his superior officers, and even keep back his troops when they were expected in the field, is proved by the charge which the Earl of Manchester brought against him in the House of Peers. The latter had been accused by the former, in the lower house of parliament, of a reluctance to fight, lest a succession of victories against the royal cause should reduce the affairs of the king too low, and thereby put it out of his power to negotiate such a treaty with his people as might replace the constitution upon its proper basis. The earl presented a narrative in his own defence, in which he ascribes some slowness in his operations to the jealousies and misunderstandings which prevailed among his officers; but confining himself almost exclusively to his conduct at Dennington Castle, on which the imputation of remissness was principally founded, he asserts that Cromwell himself was partly the cause of their small success on that occasion, by failing to bring up his cavalry in time for the attack. "Manchester," to use the language of Lord Hollis, "returns the bill, charging Cromwell that it was his not obeying orders, who being commanded, as lieutenant-general of the horse, to be ready at such a place by such an hour, early in the morning, came not till the afternoon, and by many particulars makes it clear to have been only his fault."

But such instances, it is evident, imply disaffection towards a particular leader, or indifference to the cause in which that leader was engaged, rather than want of personal courage in the presence of an enemy—a defect with which it does not appear that Cromwell was at any time fairly chargeable. Lord Hollis entertained against the party which afterwards rose into power the most violent feelings of hatred and resentment; and hence his remarks on the military character of the Protector are not to be received as unquestionable evidence. Besides, when minutely examined, it will be found that the main article in the impeachment now alluded to rests almost solely on the credit of Skeldon Crawford—a friend, and in some degree a dependant of the Earl of Manchester; for it admits not of doubt that the statements of Baillic, Salmonet, and the noble author of the *Memoirs*, may be all resolved into the assertions of the said major-general. But it deserves notice at the same time, that the insinuations relative to Cromwell's exploit at Marston Moor, were circulated in London

within ten days after the battle, and that the letter in which Bailie has recorded the imputation of cowardice, was written not more than a month subsequently to the same occurrence.

Were we to form a judgment of Cromwell's qualities as a soldier from his actual conduct in war, we should say that he was a brave man rather than a great general. He was usually found charging at the head of his cavalry, both when he led a single troop, and also when he had risen to the rank of commander-in-chief. In point of discipline and spirit, he had brought his horsemen to a degree of excellence which could not be surpassed; and the confidence which they felt in their captain, and in one another, rendered an onset of the *ironsides* in most cases synonymous with victory. From the first skirmish, indeed, in which he was engaged, down to his "crowning" success at Worcester, he appears to have trusted more to strength of hand, than to skilful movements or deep-laid stratagems. In proof of this remark we may observe, that wherever he was opposed to experienced commanders, his inferiority in the art of moving large bodies of men, to secure an advantage without fighting, was strikingly manifested. For example, when he invaded Scotland, in the year 1650, he was completely checked by David Lesley, who, at the head of an army in no respect equal to the veterans with whom he had to contend, successfully defended the metropolis against the hero of Naseby, and at length, by the resources of mere generalship, compelled him to retreat towards the borders. At Dunbar, it is true, the fanatical preachers forced the Scottish leader, in opposition to his judgment and intentions, to attack the invader, and by that means afforded to the superior soldiers of the latter an opportunity of gaining a most decided advantage over the raw levies of the northern host. But it is manifest notwithstanding, that, so far as we can estimate the professional talents of the two commanders, Cromwell was not equal to his antagonist, who had spent many years in foreign service, and studied the tactics of the finest armies in Europe.

The same conclusion will be drawn from an examination of the campaign which terminated in the sanguinary conflict at Worcester. So far from being able to bring the war to a close in Scotland, Cromwell allowed the royal army to pass him, and even to gain two marches in advance towards the frontier, before he was aware of Charles's intention to carry the scene of hostilities beyond the Tweed. In ordinary circumstances such an oversight would have proved fatal to his character and to his cause; but his activity and good fortune again saved him. After a pursuit of four hundred miles he overtook the royalists, and in a battle remarkable only for its confusion and bloodshed, he once more

proved the superiority of his arms. It is clear, however, that it was only in the rush of the fight that Cromwell excelled; and that in every case where knowledge of ground, position, movement, and in short the whole art of strategy, are concerned, his reputation does not rest upon a solid basis. His conduct in the retreat to Dunbar, in particular, betrayed much ignorance of the country through which he was passing, and hence he found himself so completely hemmed in, unable either to proceed further or to bring the enemy to action, that he had resolved to sacrifice his baggage and artillery, send his infantry round to Berwick by sea, and then; at the head of his cavalry, attempt to cut a passage through the Scottish lines. The impatient enthusiasm of the preachers was of more avail to Cromwell than a reinforcement of 10,000 men. They blamed their general as being slow to strike, and notwithstanding his remonstrances that all was sure where they remained, but that all might be lost when they engaged in action, they ordered their army to quit the hills, and to attack the sectaries in the plain. The parliamentary chief, aware of his approaching advantage, and certain that the discipline of his troops would compensate for his false tactics, exclaimed, when he saw Lesley's brigades descending towards the pass, "the Lord hath delivered them into our hands!"

It must not be denied that Cromwell possessed a quality in the highest degree valuable in a military leader, the power of influencing the minds of his soldiers, of kindling their ardour, and above all, of directing their most impetuous feelings to the accomplishment of his own purposes. He knew full well the bent of their prejudices, and the deep hold which religious sentiment had taken of their minds; and accordingly, in all his addresses, prayers, and ejaculations, he never failed to rouse the emotions which were most suitable to the cause which he had in hand. For instance, at Dunbar, when he had just gained the heights, on which the issue of the day mainly depended, the sun, which had been concealed by a fog all the morning, burst forth with unusual brightness and threw a flood of light on the wide expanse of the German ocean, at which moment Old Noll lifted up his arm and exclaimed, "Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered!" This happy quotation operated on the spirits of his followers as if they had heard a voice from heaven. The "sun of Austerlitz"! the well-known expression with which Buonaparte hailed the first appearance of the solar orb on the morning of a decisive engagement, wanted the magnificent and soul-stirring associations which were awakened in the enthusiastic bosoms of Cromwell's veterans.

No man, in short, ever surpassed the latter chief in the art by which the most powerful energies of the human mind are drawn

forth, and directed like a whirlwind for the accomplishment of good or of evil. These two commanders have, indeed, been compared in several points, and a parallel has been attempted between their characters and histories; but in respect of military qualities, there is unquestionably no resemblance whatever. The Corsican excelled in the arrangement and combinations of a campaign, where more than 100,000 men were to be marshalled on either side, in the midst of garrisons, posts and fortified cities; and where ultimate success depended more upon the calculations by which scattered bodies of troops could be concentrated at a given point in the moment of attack and before the enemy could assemble his several corps, than upon mere physical strength in the combatants or personal exertions in their leader. The Englishman, on the other hand, had no inducement, and indeed no opportunity, to study war on so grand a scale, or in reference to the same means of securing victory. His plans never seem to have extended beyond the field where he encountered his foe, and whom he usually defeated, not by a movement to endanger his position or to cut off his retreat, not by a demonstration which might disconcert his designs or compel him to change his ground, but by a furious charge in the name of the Lord of Hosts, or by an obstinate courage which no difficulties could subdue. In truth there was very little generalship displayed on either side during the whole course of the civil war, and if we except the movement made by the king at Dennington Castle, there was no attempt hazarded to aid valour by skilful manœuvring. Suffice it to mention, as a proof of this statement, that at Marston Moor there were three generals in each of the contending armies; but so careless were they of any plan for meeting the contingencies of battle, that in half an hour they were all six in full retreat, leaving their men to keep their ground or to join in the rout, as chance or inclination might dictate. The torrent, it is true, which swept them off the field, carried them back again to it; upon which they renewed the fight with the same impetuosity which had marked its commencement, but with the same want of concert and co-operation.

The Irish campaign exhibits Cromwell in a very unfavourable point of view. As the enemy did not long keep the open field, the war was chiefly confined to the reduction of strong places, many of which were taken by storm, and the garrisons put indiscriminately to the sword. In this barbarity he, perhaps, gratified the religious hatred of his soldiers, who were not less incensed against the natives as members of the Romish Church than as rebels against the authority of parliament. He professed, indeed, to avenge the cruelties of the massacre perpetrated seven or eight years before upon the Protestants of Ireland; but his real object,

there can be no doubt, was to terrify all the fortified towns into submission, and to accelerate the conquest of the whole country during the season most convenient for military operations. In this respect he exemplified a policy similar to that of the late Russian general Suwarrow, who, after putting 30,000 men and women to death because they dared to defend their walls, proclaimed everywhere the humanity of his proceeding. But we have done with the military character of Cromwell, and proceed, in the next place, to consider his merits as a statesman and ruler.

II. The origin of the Protector's power as a civilian is to be traced to the masterly scheme which first excited against Essex and the Earl of Manchester the suspicions of the republican party in the lower house, and afterwards paved the way for the self-denying Ordinance. The aristocratical commanders had already begun to perceive that the influence of their order was gradually diminishing in parliament as well as in the army, and hence to discover the expediency of listening to terms of peace with the king, from whose dignity their titles and privileges derived their sole support. The partizans of democracy, at the same time, saw the danger to which their favourite plan of government and even their personal safety, must be exposed, were the sovereign to be re-instated without sufficient restrictions on his prerogative; for which reason they determined to withstand every proposal for negotiation with Charles except on such a footing as they knew he would not admit as the basis of any permanent arrangement. They were sensible, moreover, that their plan could not be effected as long as the army should continue under the command of noblemen, whose interests, they imagined, were incompatible with those of the great body of the people. No expedient, therefore, was so likely to realize their views as a law prohibiting all members of parliament from holding offices under government; because such a measure necessarily excluded all the peers from appointments in the public service, while it left to the representatives of counties and boroughs the option of resigning their seats, should they prefer a command in the army to a vote in the house.

Some authors have been so simple as to imagine that Cromwell, when he suggested the self-denying ordinance, meant himself to submit to its requisitions and to retire from the army. Nothing could be more inconsistent with such a supposition than the conduct which he actually pursued. He was sent out of the way when the other officers, holding seats, were called upon to resign; and one pretence after another was urged for his continuance with the forces until he acquired the command both of the soldiers and of the parliament, and could when he pleased set the au-

thority of the latter at defiance. From this period, it is very obvious, he kept steadily in view the great objects which he afterwards accomplished, namely, the ascendancy of the Independents, the extinction of royalty, and the establishment of a military despotism. Hence his scheme of new-modelling the army which placed the power of the sword in the hands of his religious friends; and hence, too, his determination to seize the person of the king, in order to prevent any amicable arrangement with the parliament or the presbyterians. All his measures bore on those leading points; and to bring them to a favourable issue, he hesitated not to deceive the general under whom he served; to make protestations at irreconcilable variance with his most fixed intentions; and even to disguise the truth from his own family and most intimate friends.

The author of the *Life of Lord Orrery* informs us, that Cromwell, at one period, was disposed to close with the King and make terms for himself and the Independents. Lord Broghill, who was finally gained over to the cause of the Commonwealth, is represented as declaring on the authority of the Protector himself, that the latter would have entered into a treaty with his Majesty and obtained for him the support of the army, but that his eyes were opened by intercepting a letter from Windsor which indicated a bias in favour of the Presbyterians. It is clear, however, that Cromwell intended nothing more than to create delay and to prevent a pacification between Charles and his Parliament. Thus we find that when Commissioners were sent to the king at Newcastle with certain propositions from the two houses, Cromwell and Ireton found means to address the royal ear, dissuading him with the greatest earnestness from listening to the overtures of either Lords or Commons. The instrument which they are said to have employed for this purpose was a clergyman whose escape from imprisonment in the Tower they contrived to effect, and whom they commissioned as their agent to the unfortunate monarch. This clergyman is conjectured to have been Hudson, the same person who had assisted Charles in his flight from Oxford a few months before, and who, two years afterwards, lost his life fighting for the king in the second civil war. He was well adapted for their purpose, as being a devoted royalist, and particularly hostile to the Presbyterian party. His instructions were to advise Charles by all means to reject the propositions and to throw himself upon the army, the leaders of which, his Majesty was told, were in that case resolved to re-place him in the full exercise of his authority, upon the simple conditions of liberty of conscience, and such a security for the military power of the state in their favour, as they should think it necessary to

require. They likewise succeeded in bringing over the Marquess of Hertford, who was then in London, and several other of the king's most distinguished friends, to trust them, and to entertain the same views which they had infused into their agent. These persons, accordingly, furnished Hudson with letters recommending Charles to listen to the suggestions which he had to offer.

On this occasion Mr. Godwin remarks that—

“ It is interesting to observe when men of high talents and energies have determined to engage in any enterprise, how fully they perform the task they have chalked out for themselves. Ireton, a firm and rigid disciple of the republican school, Cromwell, the undaunted, of whom it was notorious that whatever he dared to think that also he dared to speak, had no sooner taken their part and determined to fight their adversaries with their own weapons, than they completely threw into the shade the pigmy efforts of the Presbyterians. Having once sworn to deceive, the dimensions of their minds enabled them immediately to stand forth accomplished and entire adepts in the school of Machiavel. They were satisfied that the system they adopted was just, and they felt no jot of humiliation or self-abasement in the systematical pursuit of it. Hypocrisy was of the very essence of every thing they could effect. Yet Ireton was a man of stern integrity, and Cromwell had hitherto been remarked for his extraordinary frankness. But both had persuaded themselves that, on the present occasion, a certain degree of reserve and even of deception was necessary to accomplish a people's safety and effect the noblest ends. They had fought for political and religious liberty. They abhorred the views and they despised the persons of their antagonists. They believed that if the Presbyterians succeeded, a worse species of tyranny and a more unmitigated and intolerable subjection would follow than that which the leaders of the Long Parliament had conspired to prevent. They placed themselves in the gap, and resolved, by whatever means, to save the character and the fortune of their country.”—Vol. ii. p. 202.

But our object here is not to unfold the means by which he arrived at power, it is rather to describe the manner in which he exercised it, when there was no longer any one to dispute his pretensions. It may be said then of Cromwell, on general grounds, that he was a man of expedients and not of principles; that, in every case, he acted according to his views of immediate advantage, and without anticipating the remoter effects of any particular measure, however closely connected with the usual policy and permanent interests of the nation; and, moreover, that he sometimes yielded to the impulse of personal feelings when he ought to have sacrificed every thing to the public welfare. It has been said of him by a professed panegyrist, that, “ though well versed in ancient and modern history, he was not well qualified as a statesman to speculate profoundly on human affairs, nor to predict the distant

consequences of passing events; but he possessed a ready perspicacious judgment, with a perfect confidence in his powers, a knowledge of character almost intuitive, and a capacity of the first order for the practical business of life, heightened by an enthusiastic ardour that upon any emergency roused up all the energies of his mind with concentrated force. Thus he saw conjunctures in their native simplicity, and judged with an original rectitude and clearness as to what was to be instantly transacted, far beyond what was attainable by such as brought pre-conceived opinions and dull generalities to the aid of their understandings. Bending all his resources to the accomplishment of his immediate object, undismayed either by present fears or the dread of distant consequences; and latterly, at least, seldom startling at a sacrifice of principle which might have appalled a better head as well as a better heart, he had ever the prompt decision which is of such importance in life."—*Brodie's History of Great Britain*.

It cannot be denied that his administration was vigorous, and that he compelled the most powerful nations of the continent to respect his government and even to court his alliance. But the strength with which he was armed was created almost entirely by the Long Parliament, more especially the efficient marine which enabled him to wrest from the Dutch the empire of the sea, and to inspire awe into the courts of France and Spain. The apprehensions, so naturally entertained by the founders of the commonwealth, of a descent upon their shores from the opposite coast, guided them to the wise policy of forming a navy; and so fortunate were they in the appointment of officers, that the exploits performed, during the war with Holland, were of so brilliant a character as hardly to have been surpassed by the more decisive victories gained on the same element in our own days.

The policy of the contest, however, was not as creditable to the reputation of Cromwell as the success with which it was conducted. Surrounded by strong and ambitious monarchies, the United Provinces were in danger of being overrun, and of thereby being rendered subordinate to those very countries from which England has ever had the most to fear. Hence it had usually appeared to the more enlightened of our rulers a matter of expediency, to preserve the independence of Holland, and more especially from the period at which the acquisition of so rich a territory either by Louis or Philip must have destroyed the balance of power in the south of Europe. The Protector was further blamed by the economists of his own age, for not deriving from his success over the Dutch the commercial advantages to which they maintained he had a just right in virtue of his conquests. But in this particular we can see no ground for blame. He re-

solved to limit the mercantile transactions of that active people, so far at least as to prevent them from interfering with the prosperity of the shipping interest in his own dominions. For this purpose he procured the enactment of the celebrated Navigation Laws; by which it was provided that no goods should be imported into Great Britain except in ships belonging to British subjects, or in the vessels of the country where the commodities were produced. By this measure he at once withdrew from the Dutch the lucrative employment of carrying by sea the mercantile property of the richest nations of Europe, while he secured for the ship-owners of his native land a considerable addition to their gains both at home and abroad.

The French alliance and the war with Spain were very unpopular in his own days, and the experience of more recent times has contributed not a little to establish the impolicy of those measures. Both countries flattered him, and each was willing to give a high price for his co-operation. His choice has been pronounced wrong, on the ground not less of principle than of advantage.

"In this dishonest war with Spain," says a contemporary writer, "he pretended and endeavoured to impose a belief upon the world that he had nothing in his eye but the advancement of the *protestant cause* and the *honour* of this nation; but his pretences were either fraudulent, or he was ignorant in foreign affairs. For he that had known any thing of the temper of the Popish prelacy and the French court politics, could not but see that the way to increase or preserve the *reformed* interest in France was by rendering the Protestants of necessary use to their king; for that longer than they were so they could not be free from persecution: and that the way to render them so was to keep the balance between Spain and France even, as that which would consequently make them useful to their king. But by overthrowing the balance in his war with Spain and joining with France, he freed the French king from the fears of Spain, enabled him to subdue all factions at home, and thereby to bring himself into a condition of not standing in need of any of them; and from thence hath proceeded the persecution that hath since been, and still is, in that nation, against the Reformed there: so that Oliver, instead of advancing the Reformed interest, hath, by an error in his politics, been the author of destroying it."—*Harleian Miscellany*, vol. i. p. 281.

He was on the point of committing a similar solecism in his negotiation with Sweden and Denmark. From an inexplicable partiality towards the former country he had resolved upon its aggrandisement at the expense of the latter; intending, as it was supposed, to bestow on the successor of Christina, the whole of Norway as well as the Danish territory southward of the Baltic, and to reserve for himself the castle of Elsinour and a few of the adjacent islands. This arrangement would, in those days, have

rendered Sweden extremely formidable, and placed in her hands the navigation of the Baltic, both shores of which must have acknowledged her sovereignty in peace and in war.

“And whereas,* says the author just quoted, “it had in all ages been the policy of the northern states to keep the dominion of the Baltic divided among several petty princes, that no one might be sole master of it; because otherwise most of the necessary commodities for shipping coming from thence and Norway, any one lord of the whole might lay up the shipping of Europe, by the walls, in shutting only of his ports and denying the commodities of his country to other states. Cromwell, contrary to this wise maxim, endeavoured to put the whole Baltic sea into the hands of the Swedes, and undoubtedly would have done it, if his death had not given them who succeeded him an opportunity of prudently preventing it.”

Still there is no doubt that the character of England, for strength and a vigorous administration, stood very high during the government of the Protector; on which account, if we cannot praise the wisdom of his policy, we are at least bound to admire the commanding attitude which he assumed in the face of the proudest and most powerful nations of Europe. He insisted upon Louis calling him *brother*, and thereby recognizing his authority as a sovereign prince. He intimidated Spain into concessions favourable to the trade of Britain; maintained against the Dutch the superiority of the English flag; and procured from the French the relinquishment of Dunkirk and the banishment of the royal exiles, as the price of his alliance in a continental war. It is true that he thereby raised the power of the last-named people to a height which soon afterwards threatened the independence of several European states, and occasioned even to this country the loss of much blood and treasure; but so far as we consider the effect of his counsels upon the reputation of his personal government, there can be no question that he created for himself a degree of influence and glory, among surrounding kingdoms, much greater than had been possessed by any British monarch since the reign of Henry the Eighth.

“Some modern politicians,” says Bishop Warburton in his *Notes on Clarendon's History*, “have affected to think contemptuously of Cromwell's capacity, as if he knew not that true policy required that he should have thrown himself into the lighter balance, which was that of Spain; or as if he did not know which was become the lighter. But this is talking as if Cromwell had been a lawful hereditary monarch, whom true policy would have thus directed. But true policy required that the usurper should first take care of himself, before he busied himself in adjusting the balance of Europe. Now France, by its vicinity, was the most dangerous power to disoblige, as well as by the near relationship of the two royal families of France and England. So that,

though Cromwell gave out that which of the two states would give most for his friendship should have it, in order to raise the price, he was certainly determined in himself that France should have it."

The statement of the learned Bishop only goes to confirm the opinion which we have all along entertained, that Cromwell, in his foreign policy, pursued temporary expedients rather than general principles, and valued a present advantage more highly than a lasting benefit.

But his domestic administration was not so creditable, either to his wisdom or to his honesty, as even his transactions with foreign potentates. He had indeed a difficult part to act, being surrounded by men who regarded his elevation as the overthrow of their own fond schemes of government, and as the proof of his deceit and selfishness; but he added not a little to the embarrassment of his situation by making professions on which he never intended to act, and by exciting hopes which from the first he meant to disappoint. When he assumed the direction of affairs he had to sustain the opposition of three great parties, all of whom hated and feared him—the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Republicans. These last, by means of whom he had risen to power, were his most inveterate enemies, because he had not only deceived them in the matter nearest their hearts, but was now menacing them with the very evil which they had suffered so much to remove—namely, the government of a single person. Even the army, upon which he had his chief reliance, was become very unmanageable. The enthusiasm which pervaded the lower classes of the soldiery had fitted them for the greatest extravagances; while the officers, whom he had found it necessary to dismiss, were ready to engage in any plot for his destruction. The Presbyterians, again, who were determined to establish their covenant and church polity in the south as well as in the north, were incensed against Cromwell for giving his countenance to the Independents, and for rejecting the scheme of discipline recommended by the Westminster Assembly. The Churchmen, finally, who were in general royalists, were opposed to him on the ground of his usurpation and intolerance, and eagerly watched for an opportunity to precipitate him from the eminence which, in their opinion, he had so unworthily ascended.

From these elements of danger, however, he had the talent to evoke a spirit which, for a certain time at least, proved the main guardian of his throne. By the various arts of flattery and intimidation, he continued to subdue the more violent individuals in the three great parties opposed to him, while he excited their jealousy of one another to such a pitch, that their suspicions of his ultimate designs were lost amid the deeper mistrust created

by their own rival pretensions. He acted successfully on the Machiavellian principle of ruling by fomenting mutual fears and hatred;—knowing well that the great body of the nation was against him, and, hence, that the union of any two factions must have instantly led to his ruin. Towards the close of his days he even condescended to court the Roman Catholics, and to hold out to them the prospect of a relaxation in some of the more oppressive statutes which had been enacted against their communion. In short, to use the words of Bishop Burnet,

“ he with great dissimulation carried things with all sorts of people farther than was thought possible, considering the difficulties he met with in all his parliaments; but it was generally believed that his life and all his arts were exhausted at once, and that if he had lived much longer he could not have held things together.”

The vigilance of Cromwell was so great that he never long remained a stranger to the designs of his enemies, whether at home or abroad. He spared no expense to obtain intelligence, while he found men of all ranks ready to act as his instruments in communicating the intentions of those individuals from he had most to dread. At his death an account for secret services was produced, amounting to sixty thousand pounds—a part only of the sum which had been expended in the employment of spies and informers. Every reader remembers the cases of Sir Richard Willis and Captain Manning, royalists and servants of the king, who nevertheless degraded themselves by accepting the hire of the usurper and betraying the interests of their master. The detection, too, of Lord Broghill's intended journey to visit Charles the Second, and his subsequent conversion to the cause of the Protector, is a striking instance of the jealous and watchful superintendence which Cromwell exercised in every department of state, as well, perhaps, as of the lax fidelity which civil dissension had produced even among the better educated classes of English society. No degree of retirement was sufficiently private to escape the inquest of his emissaries. Servants were bribed, and even godly chaplains accepted remuneration as secret agents of the government in the bosom of unsuspecting families; and, in one word, all confidence and honesty were put to flight by the malign influence which arose from the Protector's fears, suspicions, and jealousies.

It is a remarkable fact, that he himself admitted in parliament that the great majority of the country was opposed to his government; founding upon this acknowledgment the necessity of keeping up a standing army, and of restricting the freedom of election in the different counties and boroughs where he had not friends to secure proper returns. In Goddard's Journal for the year

1654, Cromwell is represented as declaring, that in England, Scotland, and Ireland the people were extremely disaffected, and could only be kept down by force of arms.

"In general, said he, speaking of the northern division of the island, the country was wholly very much disaffected to the present government. The Presbyterian and Cavalier interests were so complicated, as he did not see how any forces there could be lessened with safety until these two interests could be satisfied, and which way to do that he did not find, they being constantly blown up by the enemies beyond seas; and the distempers there were so great as the commanders there did call for more forces, so far was it from abating any. As to the forces in England, the numbers were but few, the condition of the people such as the *major part a great deal are persons disaffected and engaged against us.*"

Lambert, too, at a somewhat later period, while attempting to defend the violence which had been put upon parliament, when about a hundred members were turned out of it for not signing the *Recognition*, remarks—

"For that of keeping out the members, if such course had not been taken, consider what a parliament you might have had. If a parliament should be chosen *according to the general spirit and temper of the nation*, and if there should not be a check upon such election, those may creep into this house who may come to sit as our judges for all that we have done in this parliament, or at any other time or place. Having no rules to circumscribe parliaments, the power must be trusted in some person, and fittest in the supreme magistrate."—*Burton's Diary.*

It was indeed a miserable plight into which the people of England had fallen, when they were not allowed to choose representatives but according to the pleasure of an usurper, and when the persons whom they sent to parliament were not permitted to express their sentiments on the business of the nation without incurring the hazard of expulsion or of imprisonment! They had fought for liberty and for the independence of the legislature, and in return they found themselves subjected to the caprice of a despot, who, in virtue of his military exploits, had assumed the reins of government.

In pursuance of his plans, and to depress the opposers of his authority, he resolved to weaken their influence by seizing upon a part of their estates. With this view he divided England into twelve districts, in each of which he placed a major-general, who was to act as president of a committee appointed for sequestering a tenth of the annual revenue arising from all the goods and lands belonging to royalists or to such as had served under the banners of the king. They were, says Ludlow, "to have the inspection and government of inferior commissions in every county, with orders to seize the persons and distrain the estates of such

as should be refractory, and to put in execution such further directions as they should receive from him." They ruled, observes another author, "according to their wills—by no law but what seemed good in their own eyes; imprisoning men, obstructing the course of justice between man and man, perverting right through partiality, acquitting some that were guilty and punishing some that were innocent as if guilty." This process of *decimation*, as it was called, gave great offence, and excited an universal feeling of abhorrence. Cromwell accordingly found it necessary to revoke the appointment of his generals, and even to deny the authority upon which they had acted.

Mr. Godwin, who does not hesitate to condemn the cruelty and impolicy of this scheme, remarks, that the individuals, against whom it was directed, were

"a majority of the people of England in rank, in property, and numbers. Cromwell's measure was intended exclusively against the old royalists, the Episcopalians."

The instructions given to the major-generals contained the least unpalatable and offensive part of the business. Among other things—

"every master of a family, or householder, who was considered as disaffected, was to be required to give security by his bond for the good behaviour of all his menial servants, the servants being liable to be called to appear before the general or his deputy at such time and place as either should appoint. An office of register was to be set up in London, where the names of all persons thus giving security were to be entered, together with their residence; and as often as they changed their abode, this also was to be punctually recorded, and notice communicated to the major-general of each district, as the case might require. Again, the said major-generals were to take an account of what had been done in execution of the ordinance against insufficient and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters, to the end that no disaffected person might be allowed in public teaching or in the education of youth."—"The royalists, terrified at the extensive arrests and imprisonments that had taken place of their brethren, and awed by the military preparations that had been made in case of resistance, promptly obeyed the summons of the major-generals, and for the most part yielded without a murmur to the assessment that was made upon them. There was indeed little hope in resistance;—there was no reference allowed to the courts of law in this case; the only appeal was to the Protector in council."—"The proceedings of the major-generals were in the highest degree arbitrary. They summoned whoever they pleased before them as delinquents. It was dangerous to slight their commands. They inquired into every man's estate and income; and if any one endeavoured to clear himself of delinquency, they pronounced upon the validity of his defence, or otherwise. They sent whom they pleased to prison, and confined him where they pleased. It was one of the cha-

raeteristics of Cromwell's government, that those who were judged to be disaffected never succeeded in their endeavours to be set at large in due course of law. It is true that these rigours were never applied but to such as had acted for the Stuart family, or whose affections were engaged to that cause; but this was a numerous class. It is true that the major-generals in most instances conducted themselves with moderation and equity; but this military government had not less the substance of a tyranny."

The despotism of the major-generals has been rendered memorable by the oppression which they inflicted on two distinguished individuals, John Cleveland, the poet, and the still more celebrated Jeremy Taylor. The only crime alleged against the future bishop consisted in his attachment to Episcopacy and to the unfortunate House of Stuart, for which he was thrown as a prisoner into Chepstow Castle, in the county of Monmouth. The Satirist was arrested at Haynes, and sent to a place of confinement at Yarmouth; the reasons for which arbitrary measure were as follows:—the first was, that he lived in utter obscurity in the house of a royalist, very few persons of the neighbourhood knowing that there was such a man resident amongst them; the second was, that he possessed great abilities and was able to do considerable disservice; and a third reason for his imprisonment was, that he wore good clothes, though, as he confessed, he had no estate but £20 *per annum*, allowed him by two gentlemen, and £30 by the person in whose house he resided, and whom he assisted in his studies. He would, it is said, have been released had he possessed any property upon which the commissioners could have fixed an assessment.

But the most unjustifiable part of Cromwell's conduct was his interference with the courts of law, and his repeated endeavours to convert the judgments of the bench into an instrument of personal revenge or of political intimidation. The case of Colonel Lilburn is well known to every reader of history. Charged with sedition, he was tried by a London jury, from whom he obtained an honourable acquittal; and no sooner was the verdict announced to the crowd at the door than the air rang with the acclamations of thousands. The parliament, deeming his proceedings injurious to their plans, banished him by ordinance; but, partly out of confidence in the professions of Cromwell to perform his engagement to the people and partly out of his native intrepidity, he returned after the dissolution of the legislature. Cromwell, however, dreaded him no less than the parliament had done, and therefore had him arraigned for returning contrary to the ordinance by which his punishment was awarded. But Lilburn pleaded his cause with so much ability, that a jury

again acquitted him, in spite of all the usurper's influence; and once more the popular voice was raised in favour of the accused. The shouts of the people on this occasion did not, however, subdue the resentment of the Protector, nor induce him to imitate the moderation which had been displayed by the parliament; on the contrary, he detained the colonel in prison till he was so far gone in a consumption that he only turned him out to die.—*Harleian Miscellany*, i. p. 285.

The prosecution of Vane is another instance of unblushing tyranny. The publication of the "Healing Question" gave great offence to Cromwell, although, as the author asserted, it had been given in manuscript to one of the members of the council for inspection, remained in their hands nearly a month, after which it was returned to him without any comment, when it was sent to the press in the usual way, and published with the customary permission. A warrant was issued to apprehend Vane and conduct him to Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight, where the governor was instructed to receive him as a prisoner and not to suffer any one to speak to him but in the presence of an officer. "What," exclaims Mr. Godwin, "must be the government of a country when the first men in it are liable to such treatment!" In reality Cromwell and his council had made such abundant use of this power of arbitrary imprisonment, that they became utterly insensible to the execration to which such a proceeding is justly exposed. They imprisoned men on suspicion or without suspicion, often by way of precaution only, and set them at liberty when they pleased, or retained them as long as they pleased, without once recollecting that they committed an offence for which they owed a severe account to the community.

Upon the death of the Protector, certain prisoners in the Tower, as well as some who had been sent to Jersey and other places beyond the sea, lodged a complaint against the Lieutenant for false imprisonment. The jailor was sent for to be examined by a committee of parliament, when, being asked by what authority he kept those persons in hold, he produced a paper, written by Oliver's own hand, to this effect:—"Sir, I pray you seize such and such persons, and all others whom you may judge dangerous men; do it quickly, and you shall have a warrant after you have done."

Never were the lives of British subjects held so cheap as in the days of the Commonwealth. After the battle of Worcester several thousands of the unfortunate captives were sent to Barbadoes, where they were sold for slaves in the public market. In like manner, when the insurrection of Penruddock was subdued, a great number of persons, seized either upon suspicion or with

arms in their hands, were shipped to the West Indies. Burton's Diary contains a petition on the part of seventy individuals who had undergone that punishment without any legal conviction, and who entreated parliament to redress their grievances. They state, that being arrived at Barbadoes on the 7th of May, 1656, "the master of the ship sold your miserable petitioners and the others; the generality of them to most inhuman and barbarous persons, for one thousand five hundred and fifty pounds weight of sugar a-piece, as the goods and chattels of Marten Noell and Major Thomas, aldermen of London, and Captain H. Hatsell of Plymouth; neither sparing the aged of seventy-six years old, nor divines, nor officers, nor gentlemen, nor any age or condition of men, but rendering all alike in this inseparable captivity: they now generally grinding at the mills and attending at the furnaces, or digging in this scorching island; having nought to feed on, notwithstanding their hard labour, but potatoe roots, nor to drink but water, with such roots washed in it, besides the bread and tears of their own afflictions; being bought and sold still from one planter to another, or attached as horses and beasts for the debts of their masters, being whipped at the whipping-posts for their masters' pleasure, and sleeping in sties worse than hogs in England, and many other ways made miserable beyond expression or Christian imagination. Humbly your petitioners do remonstrate, on behalf of themselves and others, their most deplorable, and (as to Englishmen) their unparalleled condition; and earnestly beg that this high court, since they are not under any pretended conviction of law, will be pleased to examine this arbitrary power, and to question by what authority so great a breach is made upon the free people of England, they having never seen the faces of these their pretended owners, merchants that deal in slaves and souls of men, nor ever heard of their names before Mr. Cole made affidavit in the office of Barbadoes that he sold them as their goods; but whence they derived their authority for the sale and slavery of your poor petitioners and the rest, they are wholly ignorant to this very day. A thing not known amongst the cruel Turks, to sell and enslave those of their own country and religion, much less the innocent."

This moving petition excited the ridicule of some and the resentment of others, and it was finally moved that both petitioners and witnesses should be sent to prison for their affrontery. One member, Mr. Starkey, said, "I am an Englishman and an inheritor of the laws, but I came hither with a resolution not to retrospect. The breaking of laws has preserved your being. If extraordinary methods had not sometimes been taken we had not

been here at this day. It is enough that the petitioners have their lives assigned in any place."

No sooner did Cromwell find that the ordinary laws of the country could not support his tyranny than he established high courts of justice for the trial of state delinquents. In the year 1654 the rumour of a conspiracy to take away his life by assassination afforded a pretext for taking into custody several eminent persons whom he believed to be disaffected to his government. Among these were Colonel Gerard, the Earl of Oxford, Sir Richard Willis, and two gentlemen of the name of Ashburnham. The prisoners were forty in all, but the Protector thought proper to bring only three of them to trial. An ordinance was framed for constituting a high court of justice, of which Commissioner Lisle was president. The other judges were Aske and Nicholas of the upper bench, Atkins of the Exchequer, Steele recorder, seven aldermen, and twenty other persons. Glyn, Prideaux, and Ellis were counsel for the Commonwealth. The three individuals tried were Gerard, Peter Vowel a schoolmaster, and Somerset Fox. This last pleaded guilty; but Vowel demanded a trial in the ordinary form and a jury of his peers, founding his claim on the sixth article of the republican constitution. The court answered that they were his peers, and that he might see that the individuals on the bench exceeded twelve in number. Glyn, moreover, affirmed that the ordinance establishing the commission, though made only by the Protector and council, was undoubtedly in force until the parliament should repeal it; adding, that in the old law of treason, king signified merely supreme governor, that it had been so construed in the case of a queen, and that it applied equally to a lord protector. Gerard and Vowel were both found guilty and executed; the former denying, with his last breath, that he was aware of any conspiracy against the life of Cromwell.

At a somewhat later period Dr. Hewit and Sir Henry Slingsby were condemned by a similar tribunal; the Protector having refused to submit his charges against them to an impartial jury. Whitelocke and some other of his counsellors entreated him to rest satisfied with the ordinary administration of justice, and to confide the interests of the government to the patriotism of the people; but, convinced as he was that the great majority of the nation were opposed to his usurpation, he declared his determination to support his power by using the very instruments which had given the only just cause of offence in former reigns. Nay, he far exceeded the arbitrary spirit which animated the declamations of James, and which alienated the lovers of freedom in the earlier years of his son. For example, the oppression attempted by Cromwell in the case of Cony, the London merchant, surpasses

the most illegal stretches of prerogative in the days of Elizabeth or of her immediate successors. The trader now named had refused to pay certain duties on the goods which he imported, on the ground that they were not approved by a competent authority. For this offence he was brought before the commissioners of customs and condemned in a fine of five hundred pounds. Refusing to pay this penalty he was committed to prison for contempt. In the prospect of a trial he retained three of the most eminent counsel at the bar,—Maynard, Twisden, and Wadham Windham, to plead for him; and the question came to be heard on the 17th of May, 1655.

“This was an affair of vital importance to the government of Cromwell. An ordinance had been passed by the Lord Protector and council on the 20th of March, 1654, for the continuation of the duty of customs for the four succeeding years; and it was under the authority of this ordinance that the duties of customs were at present collected. But the question was, whether those who issued this ordinance had power to make a law. It was a maxim among the professional men, that the written laws of England were statutes, acts, or edicts, enacted by the people assembled in parliament; and no maxim seemed more essential to the existence of national freedom. The power of the council to make laws hinged upon the authority of the record called the Government of the Commonwealth. But if brought into a court of justice what was this record? It was a document prepared by the council of the army, and sanctioned by the principal officers of state. This could not for a moment stand the scrutiny of men bred in the technical habits of the courts, as being of force to change the essential *dicta* of the English constitution.”—“It was a terrible dilemma into which Cromwell was driven by this case of Cony; and it required equal prudence and firmness to extricate himself from it without mortal injury. If he gave way, if Cony came off victorious in the contest, his government was at an end; or, to speak more accurately, it would from that time forward have been a government of violence and of military force only. Every one excited by example of Cony would have resisted every tax, and would have defended their resistance on the same grounds that he did.”

Cony's counsel appear to have done full justice to the case of their client: and Maynard in particular used such arguments, and enforced them with such vigour, as, if attended to, would have shaken the government to its basis. The cause was argued on the 17th of May; and on the morrow the lawyer just named and his fellow-pleaders were sent to the Tower, on the charge of having held language destructive to the existing government. Nor did the case end here. The day following, Cony, unsupported by counsel, presented himself at the bar of the upper bench, and did such justice to the situation in which he was placed, that Rolle, who presided in the court, felt utterly at a loss what to determine.

Owing to a slight grammatical inaccuracy in Cony's answer addressed to the Protector the decision was postponed, and his next appearance being on the last day of the term *the affair was ordered to stand over till the following one*. In the meantime Rolle represented the difficulties under which he laboured to Cromwell in such a manner that he received his writ of ease on the 7th of June, and in the following week Glyn was appointed to succeed him as lord Chief Justice of England. Maynard, Twisden and Windham had previously, on their submission, been discharged from confinement; and by some means, employed it was thought at the instance of the new judge, Cony was induced to withdraw his cause from court altogether.

The liberties of Englishmen were certainly reduced to a very low ebb when lawyers were dragged from the bar to prison, for no other offence than a professional exposition of the principles of the constitution, and a faithful discharge of their duty to a client whose property and life were at stake. But Cromwell did not think it enough to intimidate counsel and dismiss judges, when they showed that their regard for law and honour was superior to their love for his service: he even attempted to poison the very source of equity, by interposing the weight of his authority in the nomination of juries. The firmness of Sir Matthew Hale on one memorable occasion stands on record as a proof of that judge's integrity, and of the baseness which already stained the character of the Protector. He understood that Cromwell had ordered a jury to be returned for a trial in which he was more than ordinarily concerned; and upon this information he examined the sheriff, who said he knew nothing about it, for that it was his practice to refer all such things to the under-sheriff. Having next asked the latter concerning it, he found that the jury had actually been returned by order of the Protector, upon which he showed the statute, that all juries ought to be returned by the sheriff or his lawful officer; and this not having been done according to law, he dismissed the jury and would not try the cause. Cromwell was highly incensed at him for this decided step, and on his return from the circuit, told him, in anger, that he was not fit to be a judge; to which all the answer made by the latter was, "it is very true."

We therefore agree with Mr. Hallam when he says, that he cannot echo the praises which have been showered upon Cromwell for the just administration of the laws under his dominion. That between party and party the ordinary civil rights of men were fairly dealt with, is no extraordinary encomium; and it may be admitted that he filled the benches of justice with able lawyers, though not so considerable as those of the reign of Charles the

Second; "but it is manifest that, so far as his own authority was concerned, no hereditary despot proud in the crimes of a hundred ancestors could more have spurned at every limitation than this soldier of a commonwealth."—*Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 343.

All illusion was now gone as to the pretended benefits of the civil war. It had ended in a despotism, compared to which all the illegal practices of former kings, all that cost Charles his life and crown, appeared as dust in the balance. For what was ship-money, a general burthen, when set by the side of the Cromwellian decimation of a single class, the Royalists, whose offence had long been expiated by a composition and effaced by an act of indemnity? Or were the excessive punishments of the star-chamber so odious as the capital executions inflicted without trial by peers, whenever it suited the usurper to erect his high courts of justice? Hence we find that the government of the Protector was universally unpopular; and the sense of present evils not only excited a burning desire to live again under the ancient monarchy, but obliterated, especially in the new generation that had no distinct remembrance of them, the apprehension of its former abuses. The tyranny of Cromwell, and his contempt of law, contributed more than the army of General Monk to place Charles the Second on the throne of his father.

III. We have left very little space for a description of Cromwell's policy as a religionist, the most obscure and unintelligible part of of his extraordinary character. His conduct, particularly towards the end of his career, was so utterly inconsistent with correct views of Christian obligation and even with common honesty, that he has been very generally charged with profound dissimulation in all matters connected with doctrinal tenet and spiritual influences. Richard Baxter himself did not hesitate to pronounce the Lord Protector a *traitorous hypocrite*. That he had at no period of his life a sincere feeling towards religion, it would be uncandid and perhaps unjust to assert; but that he finally employed his knowledge of religious terms and the reputation which he had acquired as a saint, to deceive weaker men than himself and thereby to promote his secular interests, there cannot, among reasonable persons, be the smallest room for doubt. It was the opinion of Bishop Burnet, supported by the judgment of Wilkins and Tillotson, that the enthusiast and the dissembler mixed so equally in a great part of his conduct, that it was not easy to tell which was the prevailing character. He thought, too, that moral laws were only binding upon ordinary occasions, but that upon extraordinary ones they might be superseded; and hence his enthusiasm easily led him into all the practices both of falsehood and of cruelty.

After he resolved to raise himself to supreme power, he was a good deal hampered with the professions which he had made to his friends among the Independents. Goodwin and others had long regarded the office of a king in England as the great Antichrist, which prevented the Redeemer from being set upon his earthly throne. "To these persons, therefore, he thought proper to declare, with many tears, that he would rather have taken a shepherd's staff than the protectorship, since nothing was more contrary to his genius than a show of greatness; but, he added, he saw it was necessary at that time to keep the nation from falling into extreme disorder, and from becoming open to the common enemy. With this view, he assured them, that he only stepped in between the living and the dead, as he phrased it, till God should direct them on what bottom they ought to settle; and he entreated them to believe that he would then surrender the heavy load lying upon him, with a joy equal to the sorrow with which he was affected while under that show of dignity. To men of this stamp he was wont to enter into the terms of their old equality, shutting the door and making them sit down covered by him, to let them see how little he valued those distances that, for form's sake, he was bound to keep up with others. These discourses commonly ended *in a long prayer*. Thus, with much ado, he managed the republican enthusiasts; the other republicans, the mere lovers of civil liberty, he called the heathen, and professed he could not so easily work upon them."—*Burnet's Own Times*, vol. i. p. 135.

Had he succeeded in placing the crown upon his head, he would, it is probable, have founded a church establishment on the general principles of Episcopacy. Dr. Wilkins relates that he had begun to perceive that no civil government could have a secure support without a national church which adhered to it; and, moreover, that the people of England had a decided preference for the Episcopal regimen. At all events he was avowedly hostile to Presbyterianism. He even declared on one occasion to the Earl of Manchester, that, as the Scots had come into England to impose their form of ecclesiastical polity on their brethren south of the Tweed, he would as soon draw his sword against them as against the royalists; and that he considered their pretensions as quite inconsistent with an amicable adjustment of things, whether religious or political.

There was, at the same time, great inconsistency in the conduct of Cromwell in regard to religious toleration, and we cannot help suspecting that his principles on this point, for which he has obtained the greatest praises, were always modified in their application by a regard to his ambitious designs, as the head of the

government. The sectaries were his chief supporters in parliament, in the pulpit, and even in the field of battle; for which reason he granted the utmost liberty to them, and to all classes of Dissenters indeed, except Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, and the more rigid Presbyterians; all of whom he knew were, more or less, attached to the House of Stuart, but who, nevertheless, constituted the great body of the English people. On the fourth day of October, 1655, he issued a proclamation prohibiting all clergymen of the late establishment who had been ejected for delinquency or scandal, or, in other words, for royalist principles, from preaching in any public place, or at any private meeting of any other persons than those of their own families. They were likewise forbidden to administer baptism and the Lord's supper, or to marry any person, or to use the Book of Common Prayer, or the forms of prayer therein contained, "upon pain that every person so offending in any of the premises, shall be proceeded against, as by the said orders is provided and directed."

It is therefore difficult to acquit Cromwell of illiberality as well as of studied dissimulation. He professed principles of toleration on which he did not act, and he claimed for the party to which himself belonged, a degree of freedom in the exercise of religious worship which he would not concede to others. But as to his personal religion, his faith, and his hopes, it is still impossible to pronounce with confidence, whether he was more inclined to deceive or to become a dupe. It is true that, in many instances, he despised the individuals whose doctrines he appeared to hold, and laughed in secret at the practices which he found it expedient to pursue in public. Yet there is reason to suspect, that although he treated Goodwin and his fraternity as artful nurses treat children, or as certain idolaters demean themselves towards the images of their gods in the hour of danger, he, nevertheless, occasionally opened his mind to their most pernicious errors, and even sunk under the superstitious fears which they thought it their duty to excite. Were we to limit our judgment of his piety to the conduct which he displayed on his death-bed, we should not rate it very high; for, on the supposition that his intellect was still unimpaired, we must pronounce that his notions of intercession were fanatical in the extreme. When one of his physicians came to visit him, he asked him why he looked so sad. And when he answered, that so it became any one who had the weighty care of his life and health upon him, "Ye physicians," said he, "think I shall die." Then, the company being removed, and holding his wife by the hand, he exclaimed, "I tell you I shall not die this bout, I am sure of it." And observing his medical attendant to look more earnestly upon him at these

words, "Dont think," said he, "that I am mad; I speak the words of truth upon surer grounds than Galen or your Hippocrates furnish you with. God Almighty himself hath given that answer, as 'twas not to my prayers alone, but also to the prayers of those who entertain a stricter commerce and greater intimacy with him. Go on cheerfully, banishing all sadness from your looks, and deal with me as you would do with a serving man. Ye may have skill in the nature of things, yet nature can do more than all physicians put together; and God is far above all nature." But as the physician was coming out of the chamber, he accidentally met another of his particular acquaintance, to whom said he, "I am afraid our patient will be light-headed." The other replied, "you are certainly a stranger to what is going on in this house: Don't you know what was done last night? The chaplains and all who are dear to God, being dispersed into several parts of the palace, prayed to God for his health, and all brought this answer—'*He shall recover.*'"—*Bates' Elenchus.*

"Still," says Echard, "he was not altogether without reflexion, and seemed above all concerned for the reproaches which men would cast upon his name, in trampling upon his ashes when he was dead. Nor did he seem to be totally without religious apprehensions; and one great inquiry he had to make was, as we are told from Dr. Goodwin, whether a man could fall from grace? a question very common in those days. And when the Doctor answered in the negative, according to the prevailing notion, he replied, 'Then I am safe, for I am sure I was once in a state of grace.'"

From the extravagance of Cromwell's chaplains we may at once form an estimate of the kind of devotion which was usually practised within the walls of the palace, and arrive at a fair conclusion respecting the doctrine which was most acceptable to its inmates. A certain Ultra-Calvinism afforded to the divines of those unhappy days an opportunity for exercising their metaphysics on the most sacred subjects; in the course of which discussions they generally contrived to dissolve all connection between the conduct and the hopes of the human being, and to rest his character and destination on the secret decrees of his Maker. The Protector, it is true, did not form the theological system of his age, nor perhaps understand it in its full import and bearing; but he unquestionably gave encouragement to the most dangerous speculations on all points of doctrine, and countenanced the greatest abuses in external worship. Christianity sustained a violent attack from the heroes of the Commonwealth; and, in reviewing their conduct, every candid reader must acknowledge that the sincerity of their intentions makes but a small compensation for the absurdity of their opinions, and the coarse buffoonery of their

manner, in the exercise of its most solemn duties. The profaneness of Charles the Second's reign proceeded not more from the loose principles of the monarch, and the example of the foreign courts in which he and many of his nobles had passed their exile, than from the recent grimace of Puritanism, and the revolting combination of a sanctimonious exterior with inward ambition, licentiousness and hypocrisy.

But no one knew better than Cromwell when to check religious pretensions in others, and how to determine the boundaries between civil and ecclesiastical authority. The Presbyterian ministers in Scotland had been long accustomed to dictate to the government, to rail at their king, and even to treat him with defiance and scorn. They dared not use the same freedoms with the Protector. When he entered Edinburgh, after his victory at Dunbar, the preachers, who had poured upon his character the most scurrilous abuse, thought proper to retire into the castle for protection. The Lieutenant-General invited them to return to their duty; but, as they persisted in their refusal to reoccupy their churches, he found it necessary to write to the Governor the following letter; which, not having appeared in any history of the period, may prove acceptable to the curious reader.

"Sir,—The kindness offered to the ministers was without any fraudulent reserve. If their Master's service was their principal concern, they would not be so excessively afraid of suffering for it. These ministers have misreported the conduct of our party, in charging us with persecuting the ministers of Christ in England. For the ministers in England are supported, and have liberty to preach the Gospel, though not to rail at their superiours at discretion; nor under a pretended privilege of character to overstep the civil powers or debase them as they please. No man has been disturbed in England for preaching the Gospel, nor has any minister been molested in Scotland since the army came there. Speaking the truth becomes the minister of Christ: but where ministers pretend to a glorious reformation, and lay the foundation thereof in getting to themselves power, and can make worldly mixtures to accomplish the same, they must know that the Sion promised is not to be built of such untempered mortar. We have said in our papers with what hearts and upon what account we came, and the Lord hath heard us, though you would not, upon as solemn an appeal as any experience can parallel. I have nothing to say to you, but that I am, Sir, your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL."

The oratory of Cromwell has often been the subject of ridicule among critics and historians, and every one has remarked the striking contrast which subsisted between his sagacious actions and his foolish speeches. It ought to be observed, at the same time, that Oliver did not enjoy the advantages of modern speech-makers, who frequently get their involved conceptions expanded

into elegant and luminous phrases, through the medium of the periodical press. But the following extract from an address, delivered by the Protector at the opening of parliament in the year 1656, would, we think, have puzzled the most expert redactor that ever attempted to give sense to a tissue of unmeaning words.

“Gentlemen,—When I came hither I did think that a duty was incumbent upon me a little to pity myself, because (this being a very extraordinary occasion) I thought I had very many things to say unto you; but truly now seeing you in such a condition as you are, I think I must turn off in this, as I hope I shall in every thing else, and reflect upon, as certainly not being able long to bear that condition and heat you are in. Rhetoricians to whom I do not pretend; neither to them, nor to the things they use to speak, words. Truly our business is to speak things. The dispensations of God that are upon us do require it, and that subject upon which we shall make our discourse, is somewhat of very great interest and concernment, both the glory of God, and with reference to his interest in the world. I mean his peculiar, most peculiar interest, and that will not leave any of us to exclude his general interest, which is the concernment of the living people within these three nations with all the dependencies thereupon. I told you I should speak to things, things that concern these interests, the glory of God and his peculiar interests in the world, which is more extensive, I say more extensive than all the people of all these three nations, with the appurtenances, or the countries and places belonging unto them. The first thing, therefore, that I shall speak to, is, that that is the first lesson of nature, which is being and preservation. As to being I do think I do not ill style it the first consideration that nature teacheth the sons of Adam, and then I hope we shall enter into a large field enough when we come to consider that well-being; and if that first be not well laid, I think the rest will hardly follow. Now in order to this, to the being and subsistence of these nations with all the dependencies; the conservation of that as either with a respect to be had to them that seek to undo it, and so make it not to be, and then with a very natural consideration to what will make it to be, will keep its being and subsistence. Why, truly, your great enemy is the Spaniard. He is a natural enemy, he is naturally so, he is naturally so throughout, through that enmity that is in him against all that is of God, that is in you, or that which may be in you, contrary to that that his blindness and darkness, led on by superstition, and the implicitness of his faith (in submitting to the See of Rome) acts him unto.

“Know assuredly that if I have interest, I am, by the voice of the people, the supreme magistrate, and, it may be, know somewhat, that may satisfy my conscience, if I stood in doubt. But it is an union, really it is an union, between you and me, and both of us united in faith, and both of us united in faith and love to Jesus Christ, and to his peculiar interest in the world that must ground this work, and in that if I have any peculiar interest that is personal to myself, that is not subservient to the public end, it were no extravagant thing for me to curse myself,

because I know God will curse me, if I have. And I have learned too much of God, not to dally with him, and to be bold with him in these things; and I never was and I hope I never shall be bold with him, though I can be bold with him, if Christ be pleased to assist."—*Burton's Diary*, vol. i.

We have thus endeavoured, by a selection of the main facts which distinguished the administration of Oliver Cromwell, to supply the reader with the means of forming some estimate of the character of that most extraordinary man. But there were so many opposing principles, so many contrarieties, in his composition, that the real qualities of his mind, as well as the motives which determined the most important of his actions, cannot be brought into a satisfactory light. Lord Clarendon called him a "brave wicked man;" Cardinal Mazarin described him as a "fortunate madman;" and Father Orleans sums up the review of his life by pronouncing him a "judicious villain." It is clear, at all events, that he owed much to circumstances which he knew well how to turn to advantage; more to his knowledge of human nature and to the choice of fit instruments to accomplish his purposes; and, most of all, to an invincible resolution to maintain his ground at all hazards, and even at the expense of law, religion, and humanity.

ART.V.—*Testimonies in Proof of the Separate Existence of the Soul in a State of Self-consciousness between Death and the Resurrection.* Small 8vo. 10s. 6d. By the Reverend Thomas Huntingford, M. A. Vicar of Kempsford, Gloucestershire.

MR. HUNTINGFORD has been at the pains of making this collection of tracts, in proof of the separate existence of the soul in an intermediate state, for the purpose of counteracting the tendency of certain propositions, advanced by Dr. Whately, in his "*Essays on some of the Peculiarities of the Christian Religion*;" propositions, which seem to Mr. Huntingford, unscriptural and dangerous, and to labour under the suspicion of secretly inclining towards materialism. A mere recital of the names of those distinguished writers, who have expressly maintained, that the doctrine of an intermediate state is clearly revealed in Scripture, will dispose the generality of readers to question the correctness of Dr. Whately's positive assertion, that "with respect to an intermediate state *nothing* is revealed to us." On this ground Mr. Huntingford has arrayed against him the authority of Sherlock, Addison, Calvin, Grotius, Jeremy Taylor, Barrow, Sir Matthew Hale, Pearson, Beveridge, Jortin, Secker, Butler, Bull, and Watts: we give their names in the order in which Mr. Huntingford has thought fit to class them, though we

cannot perceive the reason of it; neither, indeed, do we understand why some of them have found a place in this publication. But if some, as Addison, and Jortin, whose arguments are directed to establish the correlative doctrines of the soul's immortality, and a future state of reward and punishment, are claimed with little reason as maintainers of the soul's existence in an intermediate state of consciousness; others of equal reputation, who have maintained it with great ability and candour, have been designedly omitted,—or overlooked. Dr. Campbell's dissertation on the word *Hades*, in which this doctrine is established on Scriptural grounds, with great research and perspicuity, might have been advantageously substituted for the slight essays of Addison, (whose only proof, that the soul, immediately after death, passes at once into another state of conscious existence, is borrowed from a familiar passage in Cicero's treatise *De Senectute*;) and would have served Mr. Huntingford's purpose far better than the more elaborate discourses of Jortin, which are almost exclusively directed to a collection of the testimonies in support of a future life, as it is asserted, or implied in the Jewish Scriptures.

Mr. Huntingford cannot but know that those Christian writers who have denied the doctrine of an intermediate state, have been the most strenuous assertors of man's immortality; yet he seems to think, that the proof of the soul's existence in a future life, and the doctrine of a future state of retribution, or of a resurrection, implies by necessary consequence, that the soul still subsists after death, in a state of separate consciousness; and that to deny this consequence implies a denial of that "life and immortality, which are brought to light by the Gospel." He plainly says, that the notion that the souls of men sink at death into a state of unconsciousness, in which they may continue for an indefinite period, is almost subversive of the doctrine of the soul's immortality. Dr. Whately's essay ought, however, to have convinced him, that it is very possible for a Christian to maintain the latter tenet, on the authority of Scripture, with the fullest assurance of faith; and, at the same time, to reject the former, or, at best, to regard it as a doubtful question, on the ground, that it is not sufficiently revealed. What Dr. Whately's opinions on this subject are, we have no means of knowing, beyond what his book affords. To us it appears, that he has intentionally left the question exactly where he found it. He has not denied, on the contrary, he has expressly affirmed, that the natures of the soul and body are essentially distinct; for on any other hypothesis, the assertion, that "in one and the same *person* (of Christ) we believe the divine and human natures to have been united, though we cannot com-

prehend that union, any more than indeed we can that of the human soul and body," would be deceptive, or unintelligible. Of the *state* in which the soul exists, supposing it to exist at all, with its uninterrupted consciousness, apart from the body, he has said, and truly said, that nothing is revealed to us; and he is much too cautious, and too sound a reasoner to substitute his own conjectures, on this difficult subject, in the place of revelation. Dr. Whately, therefore has reason to complain, that his opinions are represented as tending towards materialism. This way of speaking is no less incorrect than invidious. The materialist, according to Mr. Huntingford, maintains, that the soul perishes with the body, and holds with the Sadducees, that there is "neither spirit, nor resurrection." We have looked in vain through Dr. Whately's essays for any support of these Sadducean tenets; and we know not where to find amongst all the writings of Christian theologians, a more masterly statement of the scriptural doctrine of a future state, than his first essay supplies.

But even the materialist has reason to complain, that Mr. Huntingford has misrepresented his opinions; for no materialist—certainly none who holds the truth of the Christian revelation, and expects the resurrection of the body—believes that either the soul or body are *annihilated* by death. Who, indeed, supposes, that a single particle of created matter is ever annihilated? yet Mr. Huntingford argues thus: "Is it probable that the Almighty, when he taught men the true religion, would have suffered them to remain in the belief of annihilation after death? yet they must necessarily have believed, either that their souls should survive their bodies, or that both body and soul were to perish together in the grave:" and again; "Unless we are to suppose, the soul annihilated, we must suppose, that the body when raised will be joined by the soul, which in the mean time has been placed in some separate abode." All this is very inconsiderately said. Every one may see, on a moment's reflection, that Mr. Huntingford's necessary consequence is a palpable *non sequitur*. If, indeed, the body were annihilated by death, there could be no resurrection, even of the body. But if the doctrine of the resurrection be sufficiently revealed, those who hold that the body will be raised again from the grave to an immortal life, and that the soul, the intellectual principle in man, is the result of a certain modification of matter in the organic structure of the brain, must needs believe, that when the entire body is restored to life, the soul will revive with it. And, surely, there is no greater difficulty in conceiving, that the same Almighty Power, which shall raise the body from the grave, may, if it so please him, restore the same *person* to a state of conscious existence; whether we suppose,

that the soul is identified with the body, or that it is a peculiar substance, which, though essentially distinct from the body, cannot exert its faculties, except through the medium of some bodily organs? It is easy to excite a prejudice, which may render the generality of readers indisposed to a calm and impartial examination of the question, by representing that the denial of the soul's separate consciousness after death, necessarily involves a denial of its immortality. But the two questions are perfectly distinct; and any one who pleases, may perceive that they are so.

We should suspect, that Mr. Huntingford has never taken the pains to make himself acquainted with the arguments of Christian writers, whose views on this subject are opposed to his own, if we did not see how strangely he has perverted Dr. Whately's arguments, and has contrived, by partial extracts, to make him seem to render doubtful the doctrine of a future state, which it is the great business of his essay to illustrate and enforce. The worst that can be said of Dr. Whately—and it is no great reproach—is, that he has not thought fit to dogmatize on points, which *seem to him* not clearly revealed. “As for the *state* of the soul in the interval between death and the general resurrection, the discussion,” he says, “is unnecessary, and perhaps unprofitable; had knowledge on this point been expedient for us, it would doubtless have been clearly revealed; as it is, we are lost in conjecture. For ought we know, the soul may remain combined with a portion of matter less than the ten-thousandth part of the minutest particle that ever was perceived by our senses; since ‘great’ and ‘small’ are only relative. All we can be sure of is, that if the soul *be* wholly disengaged from matter, and yet shall enjoy consciousness and activity, it must be in some quite different manner from that in which we now enjoy them; if, on the other hand, the soul remains inert and unconscious (as it does with respect to the seeing faculty, for instance, when the eyes are closed, or blinded) till its reunion with matter, the moment of our sinking into this state of unconsciousness, will appear to us to be instantly succeeded by that of our awaking from it, even though twenty centuries may have intervened, of which any one may convince himself by a few moments’ reflection.” From opinions so cautiously expressed, it is not easy to imagine how any one could be so perverse as to infer the probability, that if the faculties of the soul are suspended by death, they will never be awakened again; and if the danger that may possibly result from this abuse of the doctrine, be a sufficient ground for rejecting it, the much greater danger that the Romish doctrine of purgatory may be superinduced on the tenet of an intermediate

state, would warrant our pronouncing it, without examination, to be unscriptural and mischievous.

But if Mr. Huntingford is unfair in charging with consequences which they utterly disclaim the opinions of his opponents, he is no less unhappy in stating his own. When he maintains that the soul is immaterial, and in its own nature essentially immortal, he not only quits the secure ground of Scripture, and launches abroad into the ocean of conjecture, without rudder or compass to direct him, but, what is worse, he assumes that his *guess*, respecting the nature of the soul, is as certain and indubitable as if it were a matter expressly revealed in the oracles of God; and as such he proceeds to argue from it. In his anxiety to prove that the soul never sleeps—a position which every one who has ever slept soundly knows to be erroneous—he goes the length of maintaining, that the body itself does not sleep in the grave. He will not, we are sure, endeavour to shelter himself under the equivocal and figurative meaning of the phrase; but we should like to know what the Scriptures, in his judgment, mean, when they so repeatedly represent death under the image of *sleep*. If neither the body nor the soul, separately considered, sleep in death—and he plainly denies both—what alternative remains but either to admit that the whole man sleeps, or that the Scriptures speak in vain?

There is no question that can be propounded of such universal and absorbing interest as this: What is the change that death makes in our condition? Compared with this all other inquiries sink into absolute insignificance. But it is evident, that to this question no satisfactory answer can be given, except from revelation. Philosophy will not help, though it may fatally mislead us. Since, then, nothing can be *known* on this most awful subject, but so far forth as it is clearly revealed, we should be, proportionably to its vast importance, careful in confining ourselves to the plain declarations of Scripture, and in separating that which is certain from that which is obscure or doubtful. But the misfortune is, that those who have discussed this difficult question, have generally contrived to mix it up with subtle metaphysical inquiries respecting the nature of spiritual and material substance; and have been as solicitous to maintain the conjectures of the academy, or the rash definitions of the schools, on this inscrutable subject, as if the truth of God's revelation were concerned in upholding them. It is perfectly astonishing with what complacency some persons appear to have persuaded themselves, that they have clear and adequate notions of the different natures of matter and spirit. It may be useful, therefore,

to clear the ground a little in this quarter, and to inquire to what our knowledge on these subjects really amounts.

Matter is commonly supposed to be extended, solid, impenetrable, divisible, perfectly inert, and destitute of all active powers: spirit, on the contrary, is said to be immaterial, that is, to have no properties in common with matter; to have, for instance, no relation to space, and to possess the powers of self-motion, perception, and intelligence. Nothing can well be conceived more confused and arbitrary, more fallacious and unintelligible, than these, or any other definitions which have been given of matter and spirit, abstractedly considered as distinct substances. The powers of gravitation, magnetism, electricity, &c., which are active powers, seem to pervade all matter, and prove that it is by no means that inert substance which it is commonly supposed to be. The powers of perception and volition are, indeed, totally distinct from these; but if they are found constantly united to a certain system of organized matter, and never found except in such union, we must of necessity conclude that the intellectual powers are the result of a certain modification of matter, (such as the organic structure of the brain,) unless it can be proved that it is impossible even to Almighty Power to impart such properties to matter, or that revelation has plainly declared that the soul has its own separate and independent existence. The last is confidently denied by the materialist; and, with respect to the first, it has been asserted with equal confidence by the immaterialist, that it is in the nature of the thing impossible for matter to be endowed with those powers of perception, volition, consciousness, &c., which are commonly said to inhere in spiritual substance. Thus Dr. Clarke, for instance, argues as the metaphysicians of the garden had argued before him, and fifty others have argued after him, that the property of perception, which is indivisible, is absolutely incompatible with matter, which, as all philosophers agree, is divisible *ad infinitum*. "That the soul," he says in his *Letter to Dodwell*, "cannot possibly be material, is demonstrable from the single consideration of bare sense or consciousness. For matter being a divisible substance, consisting always of separable, nay, of actually separate and distinct parts, it is plain that unless it were essentially conscious, in which case every particle of matter must consist of innumerable separate and distinct consciousnesses, no system of it, in any possible composition or division, can be an individual conscious being. For suppose three or three hundred particles of matter, at a mile or any given distance one from another, is it possible that all these separate parts should in that state be one individual conscious being? Suppose then all these particles brought toge-

ther into one system, so as to touch one another, will they thereby, or by any motion or composition whatsoever, become one whit less truly distinct beings than they were when at the greatest distance? How then can their being disposed in any possible system make them one individual conscious being? If you will suppose God, by his infinite power, superadding consciousness to the united particles, yet still these particles being really and necessarily as distinct beings as ever, cannot be *themselves* the *subject* in which that individual consciousness inheres; but the consciousness can only be superadded by the addition of something, which in all the particles must still itself be but one individual being. The soul, therefore, whose power of thinking is undeniably one individual consciousness, cannot possibly be a material substance."

This ingenious argument seems, however, to prove too much; for it proves that brutes, who are possessed of perception, volition, and consciousness, must have spiritual souls as well as we. Some persons, we are aware, would escape from this difficulty, by denying to brutes the powers of reason; and others, by admitting that they have rational and immortal souls. But the objection to the foregoing mode of demonstrating that the soul cannot *possibly* be a material substance, may be carried still farther. For if it be demonstrable that the soul cannot possibly be material, from the consideration that matter consists of parts actually distinct and separate, and consequently that no system of matter, in any possible combination, can be an individual conscious being, since, if matter were essentially conscious, every particle of it must have its own distinct and separate consciousness; then it should seem to follow that no irrational *animal* can possibly be material: for unless matter be essentially animate, no combination of its particles could ever constitute a living being; but if matter be endowed with life, then every particle of it must have its own distinct living principle in itself, and no imaginable composition or division of it could form one individual animal. But if it be admitted—and it can hardly be denied—that certain systems of organized matter may constitute an individual sentient being, (as in the case of even the lowest classes of animals,) there will be little difficulty in admitting, that the power of thinking, as it exists in man, *may* be the result of his organic structure. And if this be *possible*, we shall tremble at the boldness of those metaphysicians who have not hesitated to assert that it is beyond the power of Omnipotence itself to effect it. That the great, eternal, self-existing Mind must of necessity be immaterial, has been demonstrated by Locke in his celebrated chapter "*Of our knowledge of the existence of a God*;"

but that all other cogitative beings *must* likewise be immaterial, he admits that it is impossible to prove.

“We have the ideas,” he says—and it is pleasing to contrast the modesty and caution of his sentiments with the temerity of those who presume to pronounce dogmatically on a question which, perhaps, the very Angels of God desire to look into—“we have the ideas of Matter and Thinking, but possibly shall never be able to know whether any mere material being thinks, or no; it being impossible for us, by the contemplation of our own ideas, without revelation, to discover whether Omnipotency has not given to some systems of matter fitly disposed, a power to perceive and think, or else joined and fixed to matter so disposed, a thinking immaterial substance. It being, in respect of our notions, not much more remote from our comprehensions to conceive that God can, if he pleases, superadd to our idea of matter a faculty of thinking; than that he should superadd to it another substance, with a faculty of thinking; since we know not wherein thinking consists, nor to what sort of substances the Almighty has been pleased to give that power, which cannot be in any created being, but merely by the good pleasure and bounty of the Creator. For I see no contradiction in it, that the first eternal thinking Being, or omnipotent Spirit, should, if he pleased, give to certain systems of created senseless matter, put together as he thinks fit, some degrees of sense, perception, and thought: though, as I think I have proved, *lib. iv. cap. 10*, it is no less than a contradiction to suppose matter (which is evidently in its own nature void of sense and thought) should be that eternal first-thinking Being. What certainty of knowledge can any one have, that some perception, such as, *v. g.* pleasure and pain, should not be in some bodies themselves, after a certain manner modified and moved, as well as that they should be in an immaterial substance, upon the motion of the parts of the body? Body, as far as we can conceive, being able only to strike and affect body; and motion, according to the utmost reach of our ideas, being able to produce nothing but motion; so that when we allow it to produce pleasure or pain, or the idea of a colour, or sound, we are fain to quit our reason, go beyond our own ideas, and attribute it wholly to the good pleasure of our Maker. For since we must allow he has annexed effects to motion, which we can no way conceive motion able to produce, what reason have we to conclude that he could not order them as well to be produced in a subject we cannot conceive capable of them, as well as in a subject we cannot conceive the motion of matter can any way operate upon? I say not this, that I would any way lessen the belief of the soul’s immateriality: I am not here speaking of probability, but knowledge; and I think not only that it becomes the modesty of philosophy not to pronounce magisterially, where we want that evidence that can produce knowledge; but also that it is of use to us to discern how far our knowledge does reach; for the state we are at present in, not being that of vision, we must, in many things, content ourselves with faith and probability. And in the present question, about the immateriality of the soul, if our faculties cannot arrive at demonstrative certainty, we need not think it strange. All the great ends of morality and religion are well enough secured, without philosophical proofs of

the soul's immateriality; since it is evident that He who made us first begin to subsist here, sensible, intelligent beings, and for several years continued us in such a state, can and will restore us to the like state of sensibility in another world, and make us capable there to receive the retribution he has designed to men, according to their doings in this life."

The hypothesis of the strict immaterialists is indeed attended with insurmountable difficulties. It is perhaps easier to conceive that the power of perception may be imparted to matter, than to conceive how matter can act upon a subject that has no property whatever in common with itself. At all events it appears impossible, by any effort of abstraction, to conceive that the soul is absolutely without extension, and has no relation to space. Whenever we think of it, we are forced to consider it in its connection with a system of organized matter, and to assign it a local habitation. And this is true with respect to our conceptions even of the highest orders of spiritual existences. We divest them in our imaginations of all connexion with the grosser properties of matter, and clothe them in spiritual and celestial bodies, and we seem to have the authority of Scripture for so doing. Even the infinite eternal Mind, which operates with undiminished power through all the regions of illimitable space, is represented—whether it be in condescension to human weakness, or that the truth is strictly so—even God himself is constantly represented in Scripture as residing in "heaven his dwelling-place." To speculate on the mode in which the Eternal Spirit exists and operates, becomes neither the modesty of the philosopher, nor the reverence of the Christian; but with respect to the human soul we may be permitted to say, that the doctrine of the materialist is, perhaps, attended with less danger than the opinion of those who maintain that the soul has no property in common with matter. For though it may be true, that if the soul be material, if thought depends on organic structure, it must be dissolved by death together with the body, it is not true that death must be its destruction. The suspension of the powers of the soul by death affords not the lowest degree of presumption that death is the destruction of them. "Whatever thought be," says Paley, "or whatever it depend upon, the regular experience of *sleep* makes one thing certain, that it can be completely suspended and completely restored;" and as the materialists maintain with great earnestness the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body, it must inevitably follow, on their principles, that when the body is raised again the soul must be restored with it to immortality—in other words, the whole man will revive with all his former consciousness, and will awake with all his mental powers unimpaired, or perhaps invigorated, from the sleep of death. But, on the other

hand, the doctrine of the strict immaterialist is attended with considerable danger; for if the soul have no property in common with matter, if it have no extension or relation to space, if it exist, according to the unintelligible jargon of the schools, not *in loco*, but *ubi*, whatever a practised metaphysician may be able to conceive, the generality of persons will be apt to conclude, that that which exists *no where* has really no existence; and thus, in our attempts to escape from the danger which attends the notion of the soul's discerptibility, (a danger which, on the supposition of a resurrection, is purely imaginary,) we may chance to fall into a more intolerable error.

But if the immaterialist, in his confident assertions respecting the abstract nature of the soul, oversteps the bounds of philosophical modesty, and mistakes probability for knowledge, it must be confessed that the maintainers of the material hypothesis have no less palpably committed the same fault. Of these, Dr. Priestley was the most distinguished both for candour and acuteness; for whatever judgment may be formed of his purely theological opinions, every impartial reader, though he may dissent from his conclusions, will acknowledge that, in his "*Disquisitions relating to matter and spirit*," he has discussed this very difficult question with the tone and temper of a Christian philosopher. There are two rules of universal application in all philosophical inquiries: the first is, that we are to admit no more causes of things than are sufficient to account for appearances; the second, that to the same effects we must, as far as possible, assign the same causes. By these plain rules he proposes to pursue the inquiry respecting the nature and connexion of what have been called material and thinking substances. And, in the first place, to remove *in limine* the objection, that it is impossible for inert matter to possess the property of cogitation, he denies that matter is endued with those qualities of solidity and impenetrability which are commonly supposed to belong to it, and endeavours to raise it to an equality to what is generally conceived of spiritual substance, by attenuating its parts to the highest imaginable degree of subtilty, and ascribing to it the most important active powers. These powers—the powers of *attraction* and *repulsion*—are not, according to Dr. Priestley, simply inherent in all matter, but constitute its very essence and being, and make it to be what it is: the solidity of matter depends on the power of attraction, and its apparent impenetrability on the power of repulsion; and consequently the supposition of the solidity or impenetrability of matter, derived solely from the resistance of the solid parts of bodies, (which, exclusive of a power operating at a distance from them, cannot be proved to have any resistance,) appears to be destitute of all support whatever. It has been asserted, (so great is the void space

within the substance of the most solid bodies,) that for anything we know to the contrary, all the solid matter in the solar system might be contained within a nutshell. This assertion, which most persons will consider as the wildest extravagance of metaphysical conjecture, does not go quite far enough for Dr. Priestley, who expresses his wonder that when philosophers had once discovered how very little solidity has to do in the system, it did not sooner occur to them that perhaps there may be nothing at all for it to do, and that there is no such thing in nature. But upon this hypothesis, that matter is not possessed of those properties of inertness, solidity, and impenetrability, which preceding philosophers had taken for granted as belonging to it, if it be asked how matter differs from spirit, Dr. Priestley answers, "It no way concerns me, or true philosophy, to maintain that there is such a difference between them as has hitherto been supposed. On the contrary, I consider the notion of the union and mutual influences of substances so essentially different from one another as material and immaterial substances have been represented, as an opinion attended with difficulties infinitely embarrassing, and indeed actually insuperable." Thus, as extremes meet, Dr. Priestley, who denies the existence of spirit, after going through the inextricable mazes of the metaphysical dance, arrives nearly at the same point with a much greater man, Dr. Berkeley, who denied the existence of matter.

Now if there really be no such difference between matter and spirit as is commonly supposed, if matter may possess all the properties which have been ascribed to spirit, there can be no difficulty in conceiving that the powers of sensation and volition, as they exist in man, are merely the result of his organic structure. But if matter has no other properties inherent in it than those which Dr. Priestley ascribes to it of attraction and repulsion, it is utterly impossible to conceive, that any exertion of these powers can produce the phenomena of thought. Sensation, volition, and consciousness are surely as different from attraction and repulsion, as matter and mind have ever been supposed to be. They have absolutely nothing in common. And if every system of inanimate matter is found to be impercipient and unconscious, a sound philosophy would lead us to suspect that the powers of perception and thought are not inherent in those systems of matter which compose the bodies of sentient beings; but are the properties of some other substance, the energies of which pervade and actuate the material structure to which it is united. That this substance is unknown and undiscoverable by physical experiment affords no presumption against its existence; for we know no more of the *substance* of matter (if we must needs use the word) than we do of spiritual substance. If a person who was

acquainted with the general properties of iron, but who was ignorant of the existence of the loadstone, should undertake to prove that the superadded powers of the magnetic needle—its polarity, and its property of attracting other pieces of iron—were merely the result of a particular combination and disposition of its component parts, he might possibly construct a very ingenious hypothesis, but we are sure it would be a very false one. Into a mistake of this kind Dr. Priestley seems to have fallen when he maintains, that because “the powers of sensation or perception and thought, as belonging to man, have never been found but in conjunction with a certain organized system of matter, *therefore* those powers *necessarily* exist in, and depend upon, such a system.” Is not this the same thing as to contend, that because the power of polarity, as it exists in the magnetic needle, has never been found but in conjunction with a certain system of matter called iron, therefore that power necessarily exists in iron? That it depends upon it, and cannot exist without it, we justly infer, because we never find that property except in iron; but we know that it does not necessarily exist in iron. In the same manner we know that the power of thought, or at least the exercise of that faculty in man, depends on his organic structure, and chiefly on the state of the brain; and therefore, as far as experience leads us, even on the supposition that thought is something as different from the material system of the brain as the magnetic fluid is from the iron with which it is combined, we have no reason to suppose it possible that the faculty of thinking can be exerted except through the medium of corporeal organization. From the same experience, had we no other guide, we must of necessity conclude that death, which dissolves the corporeal system, is the destruction of the whole man. Philosophy cannot afford us even the lowest degree of probability that the soul can exist and act in a state of separation from the body; still less that the body, which seems necessary to the exercise of the cogitative powers, and which is decomposed by death, can ever be restored again to life, or made capable of immortality. On these points the light of nature wholly fails us, and we soon lose our way in the wilderness of metaphysical conjecture. The chief use of philosophical inquiry on these inscrutable subjects is, that it brings us to a practical conviction that nothing can be *known* concerning them except from revelation, and consequently that our knowledge must be in exact proportion to the clearness with which they are revealed. Life and immortality are brought to light by the gospel; but that the soul of man is in its own nature immortal, or even that it is immaterial, which does not necessarily imply its immortality, the Scriptures do not teach, and philosophy cannot ascertain it.

Having done with the metaphysics of Dr. Priestley, and having seen that he had no more reason, from the light of nature, to maintain that the soul *must* be material, than the strict immaterialist has to assert that it can have no property in common with matter, our attention may, in the next place, be directed to the opinions of Dr. Edmund Law, who, in his "*Theory of Religion*," abandoning the metaphysical part of the question, maintains on purely scriptural grounds, that during the interval between the death and resurrection of the human body, the soul remains in a state of total unconsciousness and inactivity.

That we have no reason from scripture to suppose that the soul is "purely an immaterial principle in man, or a substance (whatever some may imagine they mean by that word) wholly separable from, and independent of, the body," he first endeavours to prove by a most exact and laborious collation of nearly all the passages in which the words, נפש, נשמה, רוח, occur in the Old Testament, and the corresponding words, πνεῦμα and ψυχή, commonly translated *soul* or *spirit*, occur in the New. He shows that these words denote, 1st, *Persons*; 2dly, *People*; 3dly, *the whole man*; in which sense, 4thly, *souls*, i. e. *persons*, are said to *eat*, to be *made fat*, to be *hungry*, and *thirsty*, to *faint*, to be *smitten with the sword*, to be *killed*, *slain*, *devoured*, to be *destroyed*, to *fail*, and to *die*; with many other similar affections that can hardly be ascribed to the soul, considered as a substance distinct from the body and wholly independent of it.

II. These words sometimes include all *living creatures*; and, III. Sometimes the *body* alone, and that either *living*, or *dead*, and *buried*. Of the last sense he produces only one example, Ps. xvi. 10. *Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell*; which is repeated Acts ii. 27, 31, and is, to say the least of it, equivocal. IV. The same words stand for the *life* both of man and beast, which life is placed either, first, in the *blood*, or, secondly, in the *breath*; which breath, spirit, or life, *enters into* a man, *goes forth* *departeth*, *comes again*, is *taken away*, and *yielded up* or *expired*. V. These words describe man in respect to his *future life*; under which head most of the texts quoted by the Bishop of Carlisle appear to assert or imply the doctrine of the separate existence of the soul. VI. In some places they denote the *lower appetites*, affections, passions of the mind, or man, or the seat of such appetites, &c. VII. In other places they signify the *superior faculties* and operations of the mind; as when these last are superadded to the former, or opposed to the *body* or the *flesh*. The texts under this class cannot, without extreme violence, be reconciled to Dr. Law's hypothesis, that the soul has no existence without the body. VIII. Sometimes both the *superior* and

inferior faculties of the mind or man are joined together, and represented promiscuously by these words, and by some others usually substituted for them, such as לב, מַחִית, כָּבֵד, כְּלִיּוֹת, מַעֲשֵׂה, καὶ δόξα, θυμὸς, νοῦς, φρεν, σπλάγχχνα, with their derivatives and compounds, and in many places they are figuratively applied to the Deity. IX. They are used for the *Holy Ghost* and his gifts. And, X. For good and evil *angels*.

The collection of texts under these several heads deserves to be attentively perused by all persons who desire to make themselves acquainted with the peculiarities of scripture phraseology; and though it certainly does not establish the position, that these words *never* stand for a substance distinct from the body, it proves that they are used in such various senses, and that the meaning attached to them is often so vague and indeterminate, that we cannot, from their apparent import in *any* passages, necessarily infer that the soul is capable of a distinct and separate existence. The proof of this latter point, if it can be proved at all, must be drawn from the plain and obvious meaning of those passages of Scripture, in which the separate existence of the soul is expressly asserted, or necessarily implied. Bishop Law, who could discover no such passages, proceeds therefore, as the next step of his inquiry, to consider what account the Scriptures give of the state to which death reduces us. And this, he says, we find represented by *sleep*; by a negation of all *life, thought, or action*; by *rest, a resting-place, or home*; *silence, oblivion, darkness, destruction, or corruption*. He gives, as usual, a very copious collection of texts, in which the state of death is represented under all these respective images; but the attentive reader will not fail to remark, that there is not one of all these passages in which the soul or spirit is separately spoken of as being in a state of sleep or inaction, of oblivion, destruction, and corruption. Dr. Law, however, who believed that the Scriptures give no countenance to the opinion, that the soul is capable of existing and acting apart from the body, takes it for granted that these passages are designed to represent the condition to which the whole man—spirit, soul, and body—is reduced by death.

Agreeably to this view, revelation, he says, informs us that we shall not *awake*, or be made alive, till the resurrection: that the wicked shall not be severed from the righteous till the resurrection, or coming of Christ: till which great day we are upon trial or in a state of probation, and at which period the world shall be judged, but not till then. That the resurrection is always spoken of as the time when the virtuous shall be rewarded; but that till then they shall not have eternal life or salvation; shall not put on immortality; be received into Christ; enter into his joy; be-

hold his glory, or be made like him : so that *they*, their faith, labours, and sufferings, are lost, perished, and unprofitable, if there be no resurrection. The resurrection, therefore, as he truly states, is proposed to us in Scripture as the great object of our faith, hope, and comfort ; and from the whole he concludes, that “ the Scripture, in speaking of the connection between our present and future being, does not take into the account our *intermediate state* in death, no more than we, in describing the course of any man’s actions, take in the time he sleeps. The Scriptures, therefore,” he adds, “ to be consistent with themselves, must affirm an immediate connection between death and judgment ;” and, for this reason, they always speak of the coming of Christ as near at hand.

Dr. Law, in the last place, examines in detail the principal objections or texts usually alleged to prove the contrary doctrine. They are well worth the most serious attention. His solutions of these passages, though they sometimes create embarrassment, are for the most part extremely forced and unsatisfactory. Take, for example, his attempt to explain away the plain and obvious meaning of our Lord’s striking exhortation, Matt. x. 28., *Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul ; but rather fear Him which is able to destroy both body and soul in hell.* “ This,” he says, “ is so far from proving such a distinction between soul and body as implies any separate existence of the former from the latter, or its being capable of suffering in an intermediate state, that it seems only intended to point out the great distinction between this and the next life ; when, in the common language, soul and body are reunited, and future punishments commence, to the *everlasting destruction* of both, *from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power.*” 2 Thess. i. 9. Comp. 1 Cor. v. 5, and 2 Pet. ii. 9. It may be observed here once for all, that when Christ uses the common distinction of soul and body, he may be conceived to adapt himself wholly to the popular language and ideas, without giving any confirmation to the *truth* and *justness* of them ; as when he says, *a spirit*, (*i. e.* according to your own notion of it) *hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have*, Luke xxiv. 39, without determining the reality of such a phantom ; which popular way of speaking, used then on all occasions as the most agreeable and most intelligible, should be more carefully attended to by us, in order to guard against all such chimeras as are too often grounded on it.” That it was our Lord’s chief design to point out in this striking passage the great distinction between this and the next life, and to impress on the minds of his hearers a salutary conviction of the superior importance of futurity, is what no man in his senses

will question : that it was his design here to teach that the soul is capable of suffering in an intermediate state, no man who understands the language of Scripture will affirm ; for the word that our Lord makes use of to denote the state or place of punishment is not *Hades*, but *Gehenna*. The question, however, is, whether his words do not necessarily imply a separate existence of the soul ? Dr. Law says they do not ; but afterwards, in the very next sentence, admits in point of fact that they do, and endeavours to weaken their force by suggesting, that when Christ distinguishes the soul from the body, he may be conceived to accommodate his language to the popular opinions which then prevailed among the Jews. In the very same way, and with just as much reason (*i. e.* with none at all), an objector who thought proper to deny that the doctrine of the resurrection was taught by our Lord and his apostles, might say that when they seem to speak of a resurrection of the body, they may be conceived to adapt themselves wholly to the popular language of the time (for the Jews, prior to the coming of Christ, unquestionably held this doctrine), but that in fact nothing more is really meant than a moral renovation, a rising from the death of sin to the life of righteousness. It is quite as necessary to guard against hypotheses which tend to invalidate the plainest points of Scripture doctrine, as it is to guard against the chimeras which are sometimes grounded on a wrong interpretation of scripture phraseology. If Christ had intended expressly to affirm that the soul continues to exist after the death of the body, he could hardly have done it in plainer language than that which he here employs. Tyrants, he says, “ *kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul,*” *i. e.* (if we will take Dr. Law’s own explanation of the state of death,) they are not able to reduce the soul to that state of sleep, oblivion, and inactivity, to which they bring the body by depriving it of life. The doctrine of the soul’s separate existence after the death of the body is plainly asserted, and the final restoration of the body is almost as plainly implied, in the contrasted use of the words, to *kill*, and to *destroy*. Though tyrants may *kill* the body, they cannot *destroy* it ; the soul they cannot even *kill* : but God is able to *destroy* both body and soul in hell. That this text alone, and unsupported by the general tenor of Scripture, and especially of the New Testament, is sufficient to establish the doctrine of an intermediate state, it would be rashness to affirm ; for if the doctrine of the resurrection, which, by the confession of all, is a prominent feature in the Christian revelation, stood only on a single text, however clear *that* might seem in its literal meaning, it would certainly admit, and might probably require a figurative interpretation. But as the matter stands,

we do affirm that the plain meaning of our Lord's expressions in this passage cannot be explained away but on the admission of a principle that, in its extended application, would directly overthrow every important and peculiar tenet of the Christian faith. For if one person may get rid of the doctrine of the uninterrupted consciousness and separate existence of the soul on the ground that our Lord, when he literally asserts it, merely accommodates his language to popular prejudice, without intending to affirm the truth of the doctrine, another, on the very same ground, may deny the doctrines of a resurrection and a future life; and others the mediation and atonement.

Those who have taken the pains to examine Dr. Law's Dissertation, "concerning the use of the words, soul and spirit, in Holy Scripture, and the state of the dead there described," cannot fail to have remarked, that he formed his opinions on these points from those passages in the earlier writings of the Old Testament, which were composed before the doctrine of life and immortality was brought to light, and in which death is generally represented by a negation of life, thought, and action, and as a state of silence, oblivion, and darkness; and then, of course, it became necessary for him to explain away those passages in the New Testament, in which the separate existence of the soul is asserted or implied. Had he reversed the process, he would probably have arrived at a different conclusion; and, having discovered the doctrine of an intermediate state in the discourses of our Lord, and in the writings of his Apostles, would have found it necessary to account for the language so generally employed in the Old Testament, where death is represented as the "*ultima linea rerum*"—the end of all things—on the ground, that the doctrine of the soul's immortality, or exemption from death, was not then sufficiently revealed. If we make the opinions of the patriarchs before the Law, and of the Jews under the Law, the standard of religious truth, and assume, that the revelation of Jesus Christ has added nothing to the former dispensations, we shall very hardly find, that there is any resurrection from the dead, or any life to be looked for beyond the grave; but if we take our opinions (as in all reason we ought) from the inspired writings of the Apostles and Evangelists, and examine what they have delivered on these subjects, without any secret desire of reconciling their language to some previously adopted system of our own, we shall, probably, discover, not only that the doctrines of the soul's immortality, and of the resurrection of the body, are plainly revealed in the New Testament, (on which points there is no dispute,) but that the separate existence of the disembodied soul in a state of activity and consciousness (which is now called in question) was as certainly taught by our Lord and his Apostles as it

has been maintained by the church catholic from the days of the Apostles to our own.

In a question of this kind, where the *meaning* of Scripture is controverted, the universal agreement of all the earlier Christian writers, and the general consent of all Christian churches, as it is expressed in their respective Liturgies and offices of devotion, undoubtedly possesses very great weight, and will by most persons be admitted to be decisive of the point in dispute. Not that the opinions of antiquity, or the agreement of churches, are of any moment in points where they are at variance with Scripture, or on which Scripture is wholly silent; but *in aid* of Scripture their testimony is invaluable. To pass them by, as unworthy of attention, or to set up our own opinions in direct opposition to their concurrent evidence, would, in any modern writer, betray a degree of presumption which is not the less offensive because it is common. Some consideration is also due to the *popular* notions respecting the separate existence of the soul, which universally prevailed throughout the heathen world before the coming of Christ, and which still prevail in all those nations which the light of the Gospel has not yet reached.

Respecting the separate existence of the disembodied spirit, and a future state of reward or punishment, whatever notions might secretly prevail in the esoteric doctrines of Pagan philosophers, (who, by discussing these questions on metaphysical grounds, almost universally brought themselves into a state of the most unsatisfactory and perplexing scepticism,) it is certain, that these tenets were every where engrafted into the popular creed, and formed a very important part of the religion of the heathen world. The fact is unquestionable; the question is, from what source were these notions derived? Observation and experience could never have led to the conclusion, that the soul continues to exist after death: for beyond this point experience altogether fails us, and observation leads us to infer, that death is the termination of our being. This argument is so clearly and forcibly stated by Mr. Hallet, in the first volume of his *Discourses*, that it cannot be represented better than in his own words.

“ I see a man move, and hear him speak, for some years. From his speech I certainly infer that he *thinks*, as I do. I see then that man is a being who thinks and acts. After some time the man falls down in my sight, grows cold and stiff. He speaks and acts no more. Is it not then natural to conclude that he *thinks* no more? As the only reason I had to believe that he did think was his motion and speech; so now that this motion and speech cease, I have lost the only way of proving that he had a power of thought.

“ Upon this sudden death, the one visible thing, the one man, is

greatly changed. Whence could I infer that the same *he* consists of two parts, and that the inward part continues to live and think, and flies away from the body, when the outward part ceases to live and move? It looks as if the *whole man* was gone, and that all his powers cease at the same time. His motion and thought die together as far as I can discern.

“The powers of *thought*, *speech*, and *motion*, equally depend upon the body, and run the same fate in case of man’s declining in old age. When a man dies through old age, I perceive his powers of speech, motion, and thought decay and die together, and by the same degrees. The moment he ceases to move and breathe, he appears to cease to think too.

“When I am left to mere reason, it seems to me that my power of *thought* as much depends upon my body, as my power of *sight* or *hearing*. I could not think in infancy. My powers of thought, of sight, and of feeling are equally liable to be obstructed by the body. A blow on the head has deprived a man of thought, who could yet see, and feel, and move; so that naturally the power of thinking seems as much to belong to the body as any power of man whatsoever. Naturally there appears no more reason to suppose that a man can *think* out of the body, than that he can *hear sounds*, or *feel cold* out of the body.”

This seems to be a just account of the conclusions to which men must necessarily arrive, who have nothing but the light of nature to direct them in their inquiries respecting the change which takes place in our condition at death. For the metaphysical proofs of the natural immortality of the human soul, drawn from the consideration of its indivisible and imperishable essence, are, like the metaphysical proofs of the existence and unity of God, so extremely remote and abstruse, that it is utterly impossible that men, in the infancy of society, should either discover them for themselves, or be able to comprehend them when discovered. The general acknowledgment of the being of God is, therefore, admitted to afford a very strong presumption, that this truth must originally have been discovered to mankind by direct revelation: and the same account must, for the same reason, be given of that universal opinion that the soul survives the death of the body, which prevails among the rudest and most uncivilized tribes of men in every region of the globe. Even the Esquimaux, and the natives of New Holland, who are reduced to the lowest degree of mental darkness, and amongst whom the knowledge of God seems to be totally obliterated, have yet preserved a belief that the soul survives the body, and exists in a separate state of consciousness. That their notions respecting this state are incorrect, absurd, and irrational, and rest on no sufficient warrant of assurance; and that the notions of a *future* life, of the *immortality* of the soul, and of the *resurrection* of the body, which form

so prominent a part of the Christian revelation, have never found a place in the creed of any Pagan nation, are points that will not be questioned by those, who, without prejudice, have fully inquired into these important questions. The popular apprehensions of Elysium and Tartarus, of the specific rewards allotted to virtue, and the punishments assigned to vice after death, may have justly excited the contempt of the philosophic heathen, and tended to bring into disrepute the awful truths which were presented under the disguise of a superstitious mythology; and as the opinions of the learned respecting the immortality of the soul, of which, from its active powers of volition, they believed that it was a portion or emanation of the eternal self-existing mind, and that at death it was reabsorbed again into its original fountain—as these opinions of the learned involved a negation of the soul's separate existence, and of man's proper immortality, and as the opinions of the vulgar on these subjects were both irrational and *unwarranted*, it became necessary that these truths should be fully established on the ground of an unquestionable revelation. Still, with whatever mixture of fable and error it may be attended, we find, in fact, that the notion of the soul's surviving the body has, in all ages and countries, been incorporated into the popular belief; and, perhaps, we may be forced to admit upon inquiry, that the *ineptiæ* and *fabulæ* of the Pagan Tartarus, of which Cicero speaks with such unmeasured scorn, were not a whit more contemptible or ludicrous than the material flames and pitchforks, and dragons, and diablerie with which the vulgar superstition, even in Christian countries, continues to furnish the infernal regions.

Every candid inquirer into the history of the popular opinions entertained by heathen nations respecting a future state, must, we conceive, admit that though they had lost, or, if you will, never possessed a clear notion of the *immortality* of the soul, yet they were generally persuaded, that it continued to exist, with its own separate consciousness, after the death of the body; and that as they could not have been led to this persuasion by the course of metaphysical or ontological inquiries, for which, in the earlier stage of society, men have neither leisure nor capacity, they probably derived their belief of this doctrine, together with that of the being of God, from the traditions of primitive revelation: Both these doctrines were equally obscured and defaced; and therefore St. Paul, in addressing his Athenian audience, found it no less necessary to declare to them that unknown God, whom they ignorantly worshipped, than to announce the resurrection of the dead and the judgment of the world to come.

But though the popular theology of all pagan countries affords

a very strong presumption, that the general belief of the soul's surviving the body was derived originally from revelation, the opinions which prevailed among the ancient Jews respecting the immortality and intermediate state of the soul are of much greater importance to guide us to the right interpretation of those passages in the discourses of our Lord, and the writings of the Apostles, in which these doctrines are asserted or implied. It is admitted by all, and indeed it is too evident to be denied, that at the time of Christ's appearing in the world, the Jews not only believed that there should be a resurrection of the just, but likewise, that the souls of men continue to exist in a state of separation from the body, during the interval between death and the resurrection, in a region especially assigned to them by God. And as both the Elysium and Tartarus of the Pagan creed were supposed to be situated beneath the earth, *apud Inferos*; so the Jews believed, that the disembodied spirits of men, both good and bad, were received into a certain subterranean region, which they called נֶפֶשׁ, a word which the Seventy have, almost in every instance, translated "Αἰδης, or the invisible state. In this common receptacle of departed souls, the spirits of the just were represented as reposing in a paradise of delights, in the garden of Eden, in Abraham's bosom; and the souls of the wicked as tormented in flame. It is highly probable that the imagery of the Jewish נֶפֶשׁ was borrowed from the "Αἰδης of the Greek mythology; but that the notion of the continued existence of the soul in a state of separation from the body was borrowed either from the Greek or Oriental philosophy, (however it may suit the impugnors of the doctrine to assume it,) and engrafted into the popular belief of the Jews after their return from Chaldea, is a gross and palpable mistake. Why should it be supposed that the Jews alone should have had occasion to borrow from others a tenet which has been found to prevail among all the nations of the earth? They acquired it, probably as others acquired it, from primitive tradition; but from whatever quarter it was derived to them, it is certain they had it in the time of Saul—almost five hundred years before the Babylonian captivity, and more than one thousand and fifty before the Christian era.

That prior to the temporary removal of the Jews into Chaldea they had any *peculiar* revelation respecting the soul's existence after death, or even respecting a future life, is more than we will venture to affirm. The first instance in which there is any clear mention in the Old Testament of a future life as connected with the resurrection, is Dan. xii. 2, and we believe it to be the only one; but the history of the Witch of Endor, take it how you will, uncontestably proves that it was the popular belief of the Israelites

in the time of Saul, that the soul survives and acts during its separation from the body. If the spirit of Samuel was *really* “brought up” from the chambers of death, as many of the ablest commentators believe, and as the story seems to assert—not, indeed, that it was raised by necromantic art, but by an immediate act of divine power, to the great terror and confusion of the Pythoness herself—but if it was raised at all, there is an end of the question; or if, with Dr. Law and others, we suppose, that the apparition of Samuel was merely the effect of well-contrived imposture, still the fact remains, the only fact with which we are now concerned, that at that early period the separate existence of the disembodied spirit was an article of popular belief in Israel.

In after ages we find, that the same sentiment continued to prevail among the Jews. The indications of this tenet in their prophetic writings are familiar to all; but we may take for an example that sublime passage in Isaiah, in which the prophet represents the kings of the nations as rising from their thrones in Hades to meet the coming of the king of Babylon, and to taunt him with his fallen state. It will be said, that this is nothing more than a bold poetic fiction, and that we may as well conclude that the cedars of Lebanon literally rejoiced over the fallen state of the Chaldean tyrant, as that the spirits of the dead literally rose up to greet his coming to their dread abode. Let it be granted, and still the fact remains, that the imagery of the prophet was familiar to the people, and was grounded on their general persuasion, that departed spirits continue to exist in their allotted mansions, and in a state of consciousness, while the body moulders in the grave.

We may here observe, by the way, that the well-known passage (2 Macc. xii. 43—45) on which the Roman Catholics rely for the support of the custom of praying for the dead, is so far from countenancing the notion, that the spirits of those who have died in sin can be relieved from the sufferings which they are doomed to endure in the intermediate state, that the contrary is clearly implied; for the historian remarks, that “*if Judas had not hoped that they which were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead:*” the object of the sin-offering and prayers of Judas was not to deliver the souls of the slain from the imagined pains of purgatory, but to make an atonement and reconciliation for them, that they might obtain a better resurrection, and find pardon in the day of judgment.

That these connected doctrines of the separate existence of the soul, and the resurrection of the body to an immortal life, were universally received among the Jews at the time of Christ’s ap-

pearing, is a fact that is perfectly unquestionable. To contend that they were not generally received, because the Sadducees rejected them, is about as unreasonable as to assert that the doctrines of our Lord's divinity, incarnation, and atonement are not universally received throughout the Catholic Church, because the Socinians think fit to deny them. Dr. Whately's assertion, that the doctrine of the resurrection is *peculiar* to the Christian religion, can hardly be reconciled with the plain declarations of Scripture to the contrary. To the Gentiles, indeed, it was authoritatively promulgated by the Apostles as a truth hitherto unknown to them, and its certainty demonstrated by the fact of our Lord's resurrection; and both to Jew and Gentile it is established on a firmer basis, and placed in a light which it never had received before the gospel revelation. But to the Jew it is never spoken of as a *new* doctrine, but as one that was already believed among them, and had been declared to them by God from the earliest ages. "*Men and brethren,*" says St. Paul to the Jewish Sanhedrim, "*I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee, of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question:*" and again, before Festus and Agrippa, "*After the strictest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee. And now I stand and am judged for the hope of the promise made of God unto our fathers: unto which promise our twelve tribes, instantly serving God day and night, hope to come.*" It is hard to say, how the universal belief of the doctrine could be asserted in stronger terms than those which the Apostle here employs.

With respect to the other doctrine of the separate existence of the soul after the death of the body, if we admit, with Dr. Whately, that nothing is *revealed* to us concerning it in the Gospel, it can only be on this ground, that it was so universally received into the popular creed of all nations, that it is more correct to say, that it was *confirmed*, than that it was *revealed* by Christ and his Apostles. The only reason why the doctrine of the resurrection is so fully explained, and so earnestly insisted on in the writings of St. Paul, is that it formed no part of the systems of Pagan theology, and was disputed or denied by the philosophers of Greece and Rome; but no such pains are taken to explain the credibility of the separate existence of the soul, because *that* doctrine was already believed by those to whom the first preachers of the Gospel addressed themselves. Strictly speaking, we cannot say that the heathens had any notion of an *intermediate* state, since that expression implies the acknowledgment of a resurrection; but the Jews undoubtedly possessed it; and our Lord himself has added such sanctions to the doctrine, that it has ever since been admitted by all Christians, (with very few, and till of late very

inconsiderable exceptions,) as an undoubted article of their faith.

To argue from the abuse of any doctrine against its truth is a most unsafe and disingenuous proceeding. When our Lord related the different fates of the rich man and Lazarus, and represented the one as conveyed by angels, in the very instant of his death, into Abraham's bosom, and the other as placed in Hades in a state of torment, he knew full well that what he then said, would in after ages be perverted, and that the superstitious error of a purgatory would be superadded to the doctrine of an intermediate state. But "what is the chaff to the wheat?" In this story, be it fact, or parable, the disembodied soul is described as existing in a separate state of consciousness—a state of happiness to the good, and of misery and suffering to the wicked. It is the main scope and purport of the story to place this doctrine in the strongest light; to convince the sensual and worldly-minded, that their "good things" will cease, and their "evil things" begin, as soon as this present life is ended; and to support the afflicted servants of God with the assurance that death will at once place them with the other spirits of the just in Paradise.

This last consoling truth is, if possible, more strongly confirmed by our Saviour's promise to the repentant robber on the cross; and since great pains have been taken to make the words in which this promise is conveyed consist with the negation of an intermediate state, the attempt of the *soul-sleepers* to explain away this striking passage requires a particular notice. Dr. Law's explanation of the text, Luke, xxiii. 43, is so singularly weak, that it is evident he himself was not satisfied with it. "*To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*—i. e. *to-day* thou art certain of a place with me in heaven; it is a thing already done and determined: the words *to-day* being constantly used of any matter there fixed, settled, or declared; though not to commence some months or even ages after." He then adds what he calls *another* interpretation of these words from Dr. Taylor, who conceives that the word *to-day* refers to the hopeless state in which Christ appeared at the moment when he made this promise: "You need not suspend your hopes till I am in actual possession of my kingdom; even *at present*, and in my low circumstances, I have authority to assure you, that you shall have a place with me in Paradise."

Now suppose the word *to-day*, as it was here used by our Lord, had either or both of the meanings assigned to it by the Bishop of Carlisle and Dr. Taylor—"It is a thing already done and determined, and even in my present low circumstances I have authority to assure you, that you shall be with me in Paradise"—

the question is, in what sense must this promise have been understood at the time, and by the person to whom it was made. Dr. Law tells us the sense is this; "You are sure of a place with me in *heaven*:" we may be sure, however, that the robber on the cross did not so understand it, for *Paradise* and *Heaven*, though it might suit the bishop's purpose to confound them, were in the imagination of the Jews perfectly distinct places. "Paradise among the Jews," says Bishop Bull, "primarily signified גן עדן Gan Eden, the *Garden of Eden*, that blessed garden wherein Adam, in his state of innocence, dwelt. By which, because it was a most pleasant and delightful place, they were wont to represent the state and place of good souls separated from their bodies, and waiting for the resurrection, whom they believed to be in a state of happiness far exceeding all the felicities of this life, but inferior to that consummate bliss which follows the resurrection. For they distinguished Paradise from the third Heaven, as St. Paul also, being bred up in the Jewish literature, seems to do in the above-cited text, 2 Cor. xii. where he speaks of several visions and revelations that he had received, one in the third Heaven, and another in Paradise. Hence it was the solemn good wish of the Jews (as the learned tell us from the Talmudists,*) concerning their dead friend, *Let his soul be in the Garden of Eden*, or *Let his soul be gathered into the Garden of Eden*. And in their prayers for a dying person they used to say, *Let him have his portion in Paradise, and also in the world to come*. In which form *Paradise* and *the world to come* are plainly distinguished. According to which notion, the meaning of our Saviour in this promise to the penitent thief is evidently this, that he should presently after his death enter with him into that place of bliss and happiness, where the souls of the righteous, separated from their bodies, inhabit; and where they wait in a joyful expectation of the resurrection, and the consummation of their bliss in the highest heaven." To which we may add, that if this promise, in reply to the petition of the repentant malefactor, "*Lord remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom*," had not received its accomplishment till the final resurrection; it could, in fact, never have been fulfilled at all. For at the end of all things, when death, the last enemy, shall have been destroyed, Christ will deliver up his mediatorial kingdom to the Father.

If we turn now to the writings of St. Paul, we shall find a very important class of texts, which the opponents of the soul's separate existence, have not been willing to notice; texts, in which the body is represented as a *vessel*, in which the soul is contained, or as a *tent*, or *house*, in which it makes its residence.

* Vid. Grot. in locum.

It is hardly possible by any sophistry to reconcile St. Paul's language 2 Cor. v. 1—9. to the hypothesis, that the soul neither has, nor can have, any existence apart from the body. When he says, "*We are willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord,*" (v. 8.) is it not doing the greatest imaginable violence to the plain and natural meaning of these expressions, to say with Dr. Law, "that the phrase '*being absent from the body,*' can have no relation to an intermediate state, but rather denotes the life of Saints after the resurrection"—*when*, be it observed, they most certainly are not "*absent from the body?*" Again, when the Apostle charges the Thessalonians, (1 Thess. iv. 4.) that every man "*should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour,*" he uses a language familiar to the Jews, who constantly represent the body as the $\sigma\upsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\sigma$, $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$, or vessel of the spirit. Were there any room for doubt respecting the meaning of this passage, it might be settled by a reference to the sentiments of a Jewish Christian of apostolical antiquity, who in the Epistle which goes under the name of St. Barnabas, speaks of the body of Christ as the vessel of the spirit, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\pi\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$. But if we will allow, that the primitive Christians, those who lived nearest to the times of the Apostles, and were contemporary with them, had better means than we now can have of knowing what the Apostles really taught, and could hardly, one and all of them, be deceived in a matter of this importance, we shall probably be inclined to attach more weight to their uniform concurrent testimony, on this subject, than to the opposite opinions of any modern writer, however highly we may be inclined to rate his acquirements, or his sagacity. We shall not detain our readers by collecting the passages in point from the writings of the earlier Fathers, since they may find them already collected in the two sermons of Bishop Bull; and they are so strong, so clear, and so decisive of the fact, that the primitive Christians universally believed, that the soul, when it is severed from the body by death, passes at once into another state of existence, allotted to it by God, (in which it continues till the resurrection, in a state of happiness, or misery, proportioned to its deserts, and in the expectation of the final judgment,*) that those who have denied, that this doctrine is inculcated in Scripture, have never ventured to deny, that it was universally received by the Christians who lived nearest to the Apostles' times.

It was, in truth, this assured hope of the *immediate* happiness that awaits the faithful Christian, on his departure out of this

* $\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\omicron\omega\upsilon\upsilon\ \psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \chi\epsilon\iota\tau\tau\omicron\iota\ \pi\omicron\iota\ \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\omicron\iota\eta\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \chi\epsilon\iota\tau\tau\omicron\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\acute{\rho}\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\delta\epsilon\chi\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma\ \chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\tau\epsilon.$ Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 223. Ed. Colen.

life, ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν εὐσεβῶν *in the region of the righteous*; that supported the earlier martyrs, and enabled them to meet death with such triumphant confidence. Thus Polycarp, the apostolic bishop of Smyrna, the disciple of St. John, in his last prayer at the stake, addresses himself to God; “Thou God of the whole race of the righteous, who live before thee:” and then, speaking of the martyrs, he adds, “Amongst whom may I be received before thee this day.” These passages are recorded in the encyclical epistle of the Christians of Smyrna, who were present at his martyrdom: and of the authenticity of this epistle, which is preserved by Eusebius, in the Fourth Book of his Ecclesiastical History, there is no question. The words of this holy martyr are very remarkable; not merely as expressing his own particular faith, but as containing a sort of commentary on two most important declarations of our Saviour, and showing us in what sense they were understood in the middle of the second century. The first of these passages is that in Matt. xxii., and Luke xx. where our Lord confutes the Sadducees, who denied that there was either resurrection, or spirit, by proving to them, that the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, though dead to men, are still alive with God. “*Have ye not read that which was spoken to you by God saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living: for all live unto him—πάντες γὰρ αὐτῷ ζῶσι.*” Was not the faith of Polycarp grounded on these words of Christ, when he affirmed of the martyrs, “They all live before Thee”—οἱ ζῶσιν ἐνώπιον σου? Again when he expresses his fervent hope, that he might *that very day* be received together with them before God—ἐν οἷς προσδεχθῆσιν ἐνώπιόν σου ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ—is it not more than probable, that he had in view that promise to the repentant robber on the cross, “*To-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise—ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ μετ’ ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ?*”

It may be said, as it was said by Dr. Law, with reference to the declaration of St. Paul 2 Cor. v. 8. that these expressions of Polycarp relate only to the general resurrection, “since time *unperceived* making no distance, or difference in the case, the season of each person’s recompense really coincides with that of his death;” and, consequently, that the phrase, “*May I be received this day before Thee,*” can have “no relation to an intermediate state, but rather denotes the life of Saints after the resurrection.” But this cannot be said by those who are conversant with the opinions of the primitive Christians. Their language utterly excludes this subterfuge. When Tertullian speaks of Hades, as “*Lines medius qui interhiat,*” “a middle intervening state;” (Apologet. c. 48. p. 38.) when in the same Tract, he

describes Paradise (which in other places he calls "Abraham's bosom," and supposes it to be situated "*apud Inferos*") "a place of Divine pleasantness, destined to receive the souls of the saints;" (c. 47.) and when in his Treatise "*De Anima*" he says, "If Christ, who is God, because he was also man, died, and was buried according to the Scriptures, and also satisfied that law which assigns the human dead to Hades (*formâ humanæ mortis apud Inferos functus*) and ascended not into the highest heavens, before he had descended into the lowest parts of the earth, you have a subterranean region of Hades propounded to your faith, and may answer the cavils of those, who arrogantly presume, that the souls of the faithful are of too great dignity to be confined in that lower region; who think that the servant is above his lord, the disciple above his master; and *disdain to wait in Abraham's bosom for the solace of the expected resurrection?*" (c. 55. p. 304.) when Tertullian thus speaks, he expresses the sentiments that were then entertained by *all* Christians; and he speaks a language, which cannot be reconciled with the negation of an intermediate state, except by those who are accomplished masters in the art of reconciling contradictions.

Were these opinions of the earlier Christians *at variance* with Scripture, or were they only *superadded* to Scripture, we should consider them, in the first instance as absolutely of no value, like the notion of Purgatory, which crept into the Church at a later period; and in the second, as merely supplying a topic of doubtful disputation, like that which has been introduced into this question respecting the materiality, or immateriality, of the soul. But being, as they unquestionably are, in exact conformity with the express declarations of our Lord and his Apostles, concerning the intermediate state of disembodied spirits, we feel perfectly warranted in applying them for the confirmation of our faith, and are assured, that the tenets which the Catholic Church has from the first maintained on this interesting topic, are consonant both to the letter and the spirit of the Gospel.

But the faith of the Church may be ascertained from her public Liturgies still better than from the concurrent testimony of her most approved theologians in their private writings; for the truth of the maxim "*Lex credendi est lex orandi*, the rule of faith is the rule of prayer," is self-evident. If then the belief prevailed in the primitive Church, that the soul continues to exist after death in a state of consciousness, expecting the award of the last judgment, and experiencing meanwhile a degree of happiness or misery far greater than any that this world affords, and only inferior to the perfect consummation of each, both in body and soul, in the world to come; if this belief prevailed, we might expect to find it

clearly expressed in the most ancient Liturgies and offices of devotion. And so, in fact, it is. In the "*Clementine Liturgy*," in the "*Office for the Dead*," in the "*Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*," which goes under the name of Dionysius the Arcopagite, and in every ancient Liturgy without one exception, the spirits of the just are represented as still subsisting in the region of the living, the bosom of Abraham, the Paradise of God. It is superfluous to quote authorities on a matter of such perfect notoriety; but we may refer those of our readers who are less conversant with this branch of theological study to the "*Euchologium*" of Goar, or Renaudot's collection of the "*Oriental Liturgies*." Neither can it be necessary to remind them that this doctrine of an intermediate state is expressly maintained by the Church of England. We know not that it is asserted in any of the ancient offices with greater distinctness than in our office for the burial of the dead.

"Almighty God, with whom do live *the spirits* of them that depart hence in the Lord, and with whom *the souls* of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity, &c. . . . we beseech Thee, that it would please Thee, of thy gracious goodness, shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect, and to hasten thy kingdom; that we, with all those that are departed in the true faith of thy Holy Name, may have our *perfect* consummation and bliss, *both in body and soul*, in thy eternal and everlasting glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Enough has been said to show that the doctrine of an intermediate state cannot be denied, without doing some violence to the plain declarations of Scripture, opposing the concurrent testimony of all the primitive Fathers, and directly contradicting the doctrine of the Church of England, unequivocally expressed in her funeral service. If all the texts which bear upon this subject were, among the *δυσνόητα* of Scripture, as hard to be understood, for instance, as that passage 1 Cor. xv. which relates to the "*baptizing for the dead*;" if, from the mere context, it were impossible to determine with any approach to certainty, whether the sacred writers intended to accommodate their language to the popular apprehensions and prevailing opinions of the day, or deliberately to express their own full and unreserved assent to the doctrine of an intermediate state, and to record it as a part of that revelation which they were commissioned to deliver to mankind; even in this case we should feel inclined to submit our own judgment to the consentient judgment of all antiquity, and should think it by almost infinite degrees more probable, that our own private opinion was mistaken, than that all the churches of Christ, from their first foundation, should have concurred in the adoption of a common error; and with this feeling should cordially subscribe

to the sentiment expressed in the fortieth of King Edward's Articles—

“ *Qui animas defunctorum prædicant usque ad diem judicii absque omni sensu dormire, aut illas asserunt unà cum corporibus mori, et extremo die cum illis excitandas, ab Orthodoxâ Fide, quæ nobis in Sacris Literis traditur, prorsus dissentiunt.*”

And let it not be said that the doctrine is, after all, superfluous, since the great ends of practical religion are sufficiently secured by the assured certainty which revelation gives us of a resurrection to eternal life, in which every individual shall receive a just recompense of reward or punishment, according to the things done in the body. To appeal to our feelings in its support, as Mr. Huntingford has done, may be both weak and mischievous; but to establish it firmly on scriptural grounds, and then to show its practical importance, as supplying the most powerful topics of consolation, and reproof, and instruction in righteousness, is the only prudent and profitable way of conducting the inquiry. We may naturally wish, when we die, to pass at once into a state of blessedness, and we may please ourselves with the hope that our departed friends “are in joy and felicity;” but it is somewhat unreasonable to infer, that a man is destitute of natural affections because he questions whether these hopes and wishes have any firm support to rest on. As well might the Mohammedan, who hopes, as soon as he quits this earth, to be clasped in the embraces of the dark-eyed beauties of his voluptuous Paradise, exclaim, that we must be destitute of all natural affection if we can question for a moment the grounds of so delightful an assurance. But if the doctrine of the soul's separate existence stand on such a basis as to claim our firm and unhesitating assent—without which it can have little influence on our conduct—it will be easy to show its great practical importance. Concerning the particulars of that happiness or misery, which will be assigned to us at the resurrection, the Scriptures leave us in ignorance; they only tell us, in general, that our happiness or suffering, in that future state, will be infinite in degree, and endless in duration. Neither have they taught us anything particularly concerning that intermediate state, in which we shall enter immediately after death; they only inform us in general terms, that the spirits of the just will be conveyed into a Paradise of rest and peace, and that the souls of the wicked will exist in a state of dismay and torment. But since it is evident that the happiness or misery, which the souls of good and bad men shall respectively experience in this intermediate state, will not be the result of a special sentence—for that sentence will not be passed till the great day of final judgment—it would appear that they must be felt in the way of

natural consequence: and, indeed, if our souls, in their disembodied state, carry with them their present consciousness, with those habits, dispositions, and affections which they acquired or cultivated in this life, it must naturally and inevitably follow, that the souls of the good and pious are in a state of felicity, and the souls of the sensual and worldly-minded in a state of misery, far exceeding anything that it was possible for them to experience in this world.

As for those whose hearts and affections were in heaven, who “*delighted in the law of God after the inward man,*” since, whilst they lived on earth, they still found that “*evil was present with them, warring against the law of their mind,*” and were ready to exclaim, with the Apostle, “*Who shall deliver me from this body of death?*” it must surely be a vast accession to their happiness to be *actually* delivered from it; to be no more exposed to that conflict with the flesh which formed the hardest part of their former warfare; to be no longer subject to those tumultuous passions which once disturbed their peace; to be exonerated from all that pain and anguish which our flesh is heir to; to be removed from all the din and bustle of this world, and from all those cares and fears which once chained them as it were to earth, and hindered them in their progress to heaven. If during their mortal life they found it necessary to keep under the body, and to retire for a while from the avocations of the world, that they might fix their souls without disturbance on the contemplation of heavenly things, must they not, now that they are removed wholly from this busy scene, and “*delivered from the burden of the flesh;*” must they not have far clearer views of heaven than it was possible for them to attain to in this life; must they not possess, unutterable happiness, under the more immediate protection of Christ, in the enjoyment of a nearer communion with Him, and in the society of those other blessed spirits who repose in the undecieving hope and glorious assurance of a blessed resurrection; and *may not* this intermediate state of spiritual improvement and felicity be necessary to prepare them for the consummation of their bliss, both in body and soul, in the state of everlasting glory in heaven?

In the same way, of natural consequence, it will follow that the souls of the wicked, the sensual, and the worldly-minded, must in their disembodied state experience great misery and suffering. Removed from the world in which all their affections centered; divested of that body which was the chief instrument of their impure gratifications; and still retaining their former dispositions and propensities in unabated vigour, without the possibility of satisfying them, they must, of necessity, be exquisitely

wretched. Here men may easily contrive to keep out of sight the future consequences of their vicious conduct; they may engage themselves with such eagerness in business or in pleasure as to leave no room or opportunity for serious reflection; and they may possibly contrive to persuade themselves that the day of judgment is so far removed that it may never come at all. But *there* all those intervening objects which occupied the mind, and served to shut out the prospect of an unwelcome futurity, will have no place; and the disembodied spirit, wretched in the privation of its past enjoyments, will have its wretchedness augmented in the clear and constant apprehension of its approaching doom.

Thus far we may be permitted to conjecture, that the souls of the righteous and the wicked, if they continue to exist after their departure from the body in a state of uninterrupted consciousness, must, from the nature of the case, be respectively placed in a state of happiness or misery. If we push our inquiries farther, and ask *how* the soul continues to act when it is divested of the bodily organs which formed the medium of its intercourse with this visible world, we shall soon be lost in the trackless ocean of conjecture. Whether the soul be in its own essence strictly immaterial; or whether, according to the not improbable opinion of Tertullian, it be corporeal, having a body "*sui generis*," indivisible, imperishable, and totally distinct from flesh and blood; these are points which God has not thought fit to reveal, and which philosophy will never enable us to discover. If we must speculate upon them at all, our diffidence should, in all reason, be in proportion to our ignorance—than which nothing can be greater. Whatever we may fancy concerning the materiality or immateriality of the soul, to whichever side our opinions may incline, let us not fancy that the truth of Scripture can in the smallest degree be affected by our decision either one way or the other. "It is of no consequence in the world to any purpose of religion," says Mr. Hallet, who nevertheless was persuaded that the soul is an immaterial substance, "it is of no consequence whether the soul of man be material or immaterial. All that religion is concerned to do is to prove that that which now thinks in us shall continue to think, and to be capable of happiness or misery for ever. This religion proves from the express promises and threatenings of the Gospel. But religion is not concerned to determine of what *nature* this thinking immortal substance is. For my part I judge it to be immaterial; but if a man should think that the soul is mere matter, endowed with the power of thought, he would not overturn any article in religion that is of the least consequence to promote the *ends* of religion. For while a man thinks that his soul is matter, he necessarily thinks

that God, who made matter capable of thinking, and endowed the matter of his soul in particular with the power of thought, is capable, by the same almighty power, of preserving the matter of his soul capable of thinking for ever. And when he shall have proved that it is *the will of God* that that thing which now thinks in him shall continue to think for ever, he has proved the immortality of the soul, even upon his supposition of its being material, in the only way in which we, who apprehend it to be immaterial, are capable of proving its *actual immortality*. For this can only be proved by showing that it is the will of God that it shall be immortal."

We recommend these candid and judicious remarks, first to the consideration of those persons who, like Mr. Huntingford, think it impossible for a materialist to be a Christian; and, secondly, to those smatterers in physical science who, when they have once persuaded themselves that the percipient and cogitative powers in man are, or *may be*, the necessary result of his organic structure, fancy they have made an important discovery that quite overturns the authority of Scripture. By both parties it is taken for granted that the Scriptures assert the strict immateriality of the human soul; whereas a little patient inquiry, by convincing both that the Scriptures teach no such thing, might induce the one party to be somewhat more tolerant towards their opponents, and the other to be somewhat less precipitate in their approaches to infidelity.

ART. VI.—*The History of the Huguenots during the Sixteenth Century.* By W. S. Browning, Esq. In Two Vols. 8vo. London. William Pickering. 21s.

FEW, if any, portions of History have received equally copious illustration from contemporary authority with that which relates to the Wars of Religion (as they are called) in France. Many of those who have narrated these transactions were themselves busy agents in them; almost all of them were men possessed of considerable talents and accurate sources of information: and the boundaries by which opinion was divided in their times were so strongly marked, that, when we are once acquainted with the faction which each respectively espoused, there is little danger of our falling into error through the hazy colouring which prejudice sometimes very naturally has diffused over facts. Extreme violence of party feeling, for the most part, furnishes its own corrective; and wherever two writers, of avowedly opposite principles, relate the same event in a decidedly opposite tone, there can be

no doubt that the language of 'Truth will be found exactly between both.

μη συντονον δίωκε, μήτ' ανειμένην,
 ιαστι ἔσαν, ἀλλὰ τῶν μέσαν νέων
 ἄρῃραν, αἰόλιζε τῷ μέλει.

With this abundance of materials from which selection may be made without any very difficult exercise of judgment being required in sorting or arranging them; and with a theme, from its extent and variety, from the magnitude of the actions which it relates and the celebrity of the actors, eminently attractive, in spite of its many horrors, the blood and crime with which it is so deeply dyed,—it is a matter of some surprise that hitherto, at least in English, we have not any standard History of the *Ligue* and the causes to which this association owed its birth. Unfortunately the present Work of Mr. Browning is not likely to supply this defect in our Literature.

The chief contemporary guides for the three important reigns of Charles IX, Henry III, and Henry IV, as professed Historians, are De Thou and Davila. Beza does not accompany us beyond 1563, a year which, if the foul calumnies of Poltrot had been credited, must have been for ever fatal to the reputation of the great Reformer. But Poltrot retracted the charge which he had brought affirming that Beza was the stimulator of the murder of the Duke of Guise; and in his last moments he earnestly endeavoured to remove the impression which this falsehood had created: an impression which Bossuet, by adroitly turning it in the direction which best suited his unfair purpose, has contributed to keep alive in later days; and which it is much to be wished Bayle, according to the promise which he held out* of considering it under a notice of Poltrot, (a notice which he never gave) had for ever dispersed.

De Thou was in his nineteenth year when the Massacre of St. Bartholomew was perpetrated, and he had returned from his studies at Orleans to Paris not long before its occurrence. Accordingly the account which he has left of that enormity is more vivid and particular than has been furnished by any other hand: and Dr. Lingard, in his quiet moments of rumination and recumbency, may chew the cud of "bitter fancy" with which he will be supplied by an acute remark of Voltaire:—" *Il n'est pas vrai que le Saint-Barthélemi fut prémédité; car tous les Historiens, à commencer par le respectable De Thou conviennent qu'elle le fut.*"

In 1576 De Thou was actively employed in negotiations connected with the disturbed politics of his Country; and he acquitted himself in such manner as proved his capacity for State affairs not

* *Ad v. Beza.*

less than for Literature. About that time he filled the important posts of *Conseiller Clerc au Parlement de Paris* and *Maître des Requêtes*, and the Capital appears to have been his chief residence till the *Day of Barricades*. On his return thither, during the Assembly of the States at Blois, he narrowly escaped from the effects of popular fury aroused by the announcement of the assassination of the Guises. His employment under Henry III. did not prevent his favour in the succeeding reign; and on the death of his uncle in 1596, he obtained the honourable office of *Président à Mortier*. Henry IV. engaged him in frequent negotiations. He assisted in the treaty by which the Duke of Guise became reconciled to the Bourbons, and he was largely concerned in the arrangement of the memorable Edict of Nantes.

Yet, notwithstanding these numerous avocations, which must have more than sufficiently distracted a common mind from other pursuits, De Thou, by that nice husbandry of time, of which we still possess some striking instances in the master spirits of our own days, has left behind him a more imperishable monument than he could have provided by any Civil service. The seven bulky and closely printed folios which were published under the superintendence of the learned and excellent Mead in 1733, and which alone contain the genuine Work of the great President, comprise no less than 138 Books. The general fidelity and exactness of this most remarkable Work has never been questioned. Such indeed was the freedom of the disclosures upon which its author ventured, and so little in accordance with the spirit, the tastes, the habits, and the interests of his days, was his honest revelation of Truth, that by the cautious policy of his Executors this History was nearly committed to the flames; and most probably would have been so, if the foresight of the President himself had not provided against such a contingency, by placing a duplicate copy in the hands of his friend M. Lingelsheim. Peiresc, from whom we learn these particulars, has marked other instances in which the want of similar precaution has been most destructive to the cause of Literature. De Thou himself, although he published many parts of his Work during his life-time, did not care to hazard his safety by telling *all* that he knew, while he might personally suffer for his frankness; and, accordingly, the copies printed under his own inspection, as well as every other preceding Mead's edition which we have just mentioned, have undergone very efficient castrations. That edition is printed exactly after the Author's original copy; and the reader who wishes to learn more concerning the changes which the Work has undergone at various times, and the means by which we are at length presented with it in its perfect form and original vigour, will find the facts distinctly stated in some preliminary Letters by Buckley.

The Latinity of De Thou may be read with great pleasure even by a fastidious scholar; nor do we admit the validity of an objection which has been frequently urged against him, and which will probably continue to be repeated by every small critic who passes judgment on his style. It has been said that by Romanizing his proper names he has obscured matters which would otherwise have been plain, and has rendered the assistance of a Glossary constantly necessary. Now it seems to us that by so doing he has avoided a pyebald and patchwork diction, a mosaïque and tessellation of language, which is very offensive to good taste. Who could tolerate amid the easy current and smoothly-gliding course of pure and classical Latin, such uncouth names as Leeuwaerden, Steenwijck, Bergen-op-Zoom, Bravoetz, Cleerhage, Yselstein, or Cloot, if set down in all their native, original, and vernacular deformity? We have taken these cacophonous and clazodontic words at random, and we are well pleased to see them adumbrated under the more mellifluous titles of *Leopardia*, *Stenrica*, *Bergæ*, *Bravoetsus*, *Claragius*, *Iselstenius*, and *Cloetus*. When the Historian writes of *Billeus Bruxellensis jurisconsultus*, he is in unison with his general mode of speech; but what ear (unless that of Mr. Bowring, which discovers music in the scraunel tones of Hooft, Vondel, Vandergoes, and other brethren of the *Amsterdamche Kamer*) would not be shocked by *Bill de Bruxelles, LL.D.*? *Graveverta insula prope Telonium* or *Bomelense territorium* might flow from the pen of Livy, but who, save a burgo-master could indite, or a frog could hope to pronounce, Gravenwert de Tollhuys, or the yet more *brekekecious* Bommelerweert? The key becomes familiar after a few pages; and even if some denser reader should be slow in its application, in Mead's edition, the only one to which he ought to have recourse, each page has the vulgar names at its foot. The labour, however, which these explanations required in the first instance was of no little extent. Carte, who addressed himself more especially to the illustration of English names, which have passed through two metamorphoses, the first that of French pronunciation, the second that of Latin inflection, tells us that it cost him many weeks anxious search among the Records in the Tower to elucidate such titles as *Bonoornii*, *Floræ arcis* and *Ottoni reguli*.

Of De Thou, Lord Carteret (or Buckley translating him) has spoken in the most unqualified admiration; *inter Historicos præstantissimos meritò numerari debet Lectorem per totum mundum circumducit, semper delectat, et documentis utilissimis ubique ferè instituit*. But, perhaps, the fullest eulogium which could be passed on his high merits has been paid incidentally by Dacier, himself an editorial scholar, but one who was gifted with suffi-

ciently enlarged powers of mind to distinguish between the jejune-ness of mere verbal criticism, and that plenitude and raciness which is to be found only in the philosophic student. "I have had in my hands," says he in his Preface to the Biographer of Chæroneæ, "a Greek Plutarch with numerous MS. notes by Turnebus. It was utterly useless to me; for these annotations related to nothing more than the most remarkable words of the text, which this learned man had taken the trouble to write in the margin, in order that they might be more present to his memory. But I cannot too much acknowledge the assistance which I have derived from another Plutarch, in which all the Lives are commented on by the hand of the celebrated De Thou, that great Historian, who in his peculiar department of Literature has made France the rival of Greece and Rome, and whose writings are equally distinguished by profoundness, vigour, sincerity and truth. He had read these Lives with so much care and accuracy, and had marked, with so much judgment, all that could elucidate the most remarkable and important passages, or trace them to their source, that he has greatly abridged my labour, by sparing me tedious researches, and often by affording me lights for which I should have looked in vain elsewhere."

The great object of continuing a History from the point at which Paulus Jovius ceased, appears to have occupied De Thou from his very earliest youth. This purpose was always borne in mind during his Travels, his professional occupations in Court, and his Embassies—whether his Country was at Peace or War. His leisure was dedicated to the collection of materials; he ransacked every where all such Histories as were printed, and employed copyists for such as were in MS. He read the Memoirs of Generals, the Negotiations of Envoys, and the very Despatches of Secretaries. By familiar conversation with the greatest men of his time, he obtained a profound knowledge of affairs, and he profited by their judgment and accurate acquaintance with events, to decide between opposite statements written or spoken on either side, during a period of more than common excitation. Such are his own declarations; and the results which he obtained from this course fully avouch their truth. One crowning stone was wanting to complete the design of his great edifice, and to render it, what it has become with posterity, a *κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί*,—a determination to write without regard to party feeling. That he has attained this point as nearly as human infirmity will permit, must be allowed by all who are conversant with his pages. That he intended it, none will deny who read the solemn protestation in his last Will, written at a moment when he was entering upon scenes uninfluenced by the petty motives and frivolous interests which

attach to this world. *J'ai composé mon Histoire à la gloire de Dieu, et pour l'utilité publique, sans aucun motif de haine ou de complaisance.*

We come in the next place to Davila, whose opportunities of obtaining correct information were scarcely inferior, if at all so, to those possessed by De Thou. Educated in the service of the Queen-mother (Catharine de Medicis), and hereditarily attached to her family, he witnessed many of the leading transactions of her Court. Afterwards, serving personally, and with distinguished bravery, in the War of the *Ligue*, he was present at some of the chief actions which he relates. What infinite life does a narrative gain, with what augmented strength does it affect the reader's imagination, when it can be prefaced by the writer's personal knowledge of the individual whom it concerns. We will take one instance at hazard. Davila is about to describe the assassination of Henry III.—an incident which he has told with great and very interesting particularity. The unconcerned demeanor of the murderer on the evening before the committal of the bloody act; his grave rebuke of the unseasonable merriment of those who, little suspecting his purpose, asked him if *he* was the Religious by whom it was prophesied that the King should perish—"These are not matters to be treated lightly;"—his usage at Della Guella's table, during supper, of the very knife which was to drink the Royal blood on the morrow—*tagliò il pane con un coltello nuovo, co'l manico nero*;—his eating, drinking and sleeping as if without thought of the approaching tragedy—all these fine and rapid touches heighten the effect of the picture, and almost place the scene which it portrays before our eyes. But what additional power does it receive, how is its charm wound up and consummated, when we are told that the painter has not wholly drawn from Fancy, but that Memory also has guided his pencil; that he had frequently been in company and was well acquainted with the person whose story he is delineating; *a me sovviene, mentre molte volte visitavo fra Stefano Lusignano Cipriotto Vescovo di Limisso, e frate del medesimo Ordine, quando la Corte si ritrovava in Parigi, averlo veduto, e udito, mentre gli altri Religiosi di lui si prendevano passatempo.* The miserable fanatic, it seems, was always half-witted, and had long been the butt of his companions. His credulity assisted the wicked purpose of those by whom he had been derided, and the very folly which at first ministered to their diversion, was applied in the end as the fittest instrument of their crime.

In point of style much fault has been found with Davila for the mould in which he has cast his History; for the imaginary speeches and discourses wherewith he has so largely interspersed

his narrative. For so doing, however, he may plead high and undisputed authority; and we know not why that which is considered to be eloquent and impressive when it is found in the pages of Thucydides, of Livy, or of Tacitus, should be stigmatized as misplaced, unnatural, impertinent and affected when adopted by a writer who happens to be born a certain number of centuries after them. No reader is deceived by this practice. It is quite possible, nay more, it is very probable, that Cleon and Diodotus did in fact deliver sentiments respecting the surrender of the Mitylenæans, very similar to those which the son of Olorus has ascribed to them: we have little doubt that Scipio and Manlius harangued their soldiers much after the same manner (though, perhaps, with more brevity) as that which the Historian of Padua has adopted in their names; and the thoughts, if not the words, of Agrippina, of Boadicea, of Germanicus, of Suetonius Paulinus, and of Vologeses, have assuredly been faithfully represented by the last of the three great Historians whom we have mentioned above. Later usage has exchanged this strong dramatic form for one of much less energy; for unimpassioned dissertation, and calm, sober, tranquil and nicely-balanced reflection; for the cool sagacity of the writer in his closet, rather than for the burning words of the hero in the field or the orator in the senate. To our minds, however, *composition* is a loser, and *common sense* is not a gainer by this revolution. In either case, every body knows that these sentiments, be they conveyed in speeches or remarks, in diction glowing or profound, whether they aspire to Poetical heights or plunge into Politico-economical bathos, are episodes, and the sole property of the writer; and as each method answers the like purpose in *fact*, the question becomes one solely of *form*—of which the elder is, in our judgment, the more agreeable of the two.

Mezeray, indeed, has sneeringly termed Davila's Work, *le Roman de la Ligue*; but Mezeray himself is plainly deficient in graces of style, and consequently in just power of criticism upon them; though he is never to be too much commended for plain, downright fidelity. Would that the pithy remonstrances of Colbert, and the jeopardy in which the honest Historiographer found his annual 4000 livres were placed, had not induced him to *abridge* the truth in his later editions! He was far too single-minded to pervert, or even to modify it; and the minister, who had more courtly notions, and who believed that Kings watered Historians with the dew of pensions, only in order that the Royal sunshine might draw out exhalations of flattery, reclaimed the money when he found he could not obtain an equivalent of praise. Nevertheless Mezeray has allowed that Davila exhibits judgment and accuracy; and if we confine his charge of "Romance" within

the bounds which he appears to assign in explanation, it is by no means without truth. Davila, he says, in many places has attributed events to causes which have nothing to do with them. The affectation of profound political knowledge, and of close acquaintance with the secret machinery of actions, is indeed, perhaps, his most besetting sin. The Archbishop of Cambray has delivered a palmary judgment on this point, which though called out by the particular individual, is applicable to Historians in general. —“We read Davila,” writes Fenelon, in his *Réflexions sur la Grammaire*, “with pleasure; but he speaks as if he had been intimately admitted into the innermost mysteries of Cabinets. One man singly can never possess the confidence of all conflicting parties. Besides, every body has his secret, which he is not likely to trust to others, especially to a writer of History. Truth is to be picked up only by fragments; and the Historian who seeks to instruct me on points which I am sure he cannot know, makes me doubt even respecting those wherewith he is really acquainted.”

Baudouin, in his French translation of Davila, has corrected several inaccuracies in national topography, names and titles, which are very pardonable in a foreigner, and which rather establish than impair our belief in the Historian's integrity in matters of higher moment; for if errors upon such matters had been to be found, they would doubtless have been exhibited. It is to be wished, therefore, that Mezeray had been less vehement in the expressions which he has used elsewhere; and had not, to the great offence of courtesy, written with too free and lavish pen of the *mensonge de cet Auteur Italien*, of his *grossiere oubliance ou insigne malice*. Davila, it seems, almost in the outset of his Work, either from want of full acquaintance with facts, or really from conviction, has *accused* Francis I. of neglecting Persecution; for that he allowed the Reformed principles to creep on unrestrained, rather despising than fearing them. The zeal of Mezeray is roused in defence of his Prince, and he urges satisfactory proof that this Monarch was not deficient in that fiery devotion which ought to entitle him to be accounted a genuine son of the Romish Church. That which, if it were true, (unhappily it is not so,) would infinitely increase his reputation, is considered to redound to the discredit of the most Christian King; and the pious author carefully distributes among the several victims the burnings, hangings, whippings and banishments which were administered to more than sixty wretches, the infection of whose errors increasing, *Le Roy fit rallumer les feux pour en purger la France*. “What then,” says this wise and temperate advocate, “is it nothing to issue six or seven rigorous edicts, oftentimes to convoke the Clergy, to assemble a Provincial Council, to despatch every day Ambassadors to every Prince in

Christendom, imploring a General Council, to burn heretics by dozens, to condemn them to the Gallies by hundreds, to banish them by thousands?" And the reader in the end is cautioned *how* he should read Davila, who has ventured to write thus unbecomingly *du Père des bonnes Lettres*.

One other passage, however, which has been adduced, not by Mezeray, but by Maimbourg, is so plainly a fiction that we can only suppose Davila was misled as to the incident itself by general report; for it is given, as he represents it, by many other writers of good repnte, and among them, with some additional particularities, by Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné himself. For the rest he depended, no doubt, upon what he rashly considered a fair licence for an Historian—the free usage of verisimilitude—and he indulged moreover his favourite passion for displaying State secrets. Immediately after the Duke of Guise had been murdered in the royal antechamber, Henry crossed to the apartments of the Queen Mother, where the memorable and well-known conversation occurred which we need not here repeat, and for which there are sufficient vouchers to remove all doubt of its truth. But Davila continues that the King proceeded from Catherine's bedside (she was at the time confined by the gout) in order to hear mass with the Legate Moresini. They met in the Chapel of the Palace, and the Historian relates their conference at great length and with considerable minuteness through several pages. The King exposed the various treasonable practices of the Duke, and enlarged upon his own gentleness and benevolence; he dwelt upon the oaths and promises which Guise had violated, the Sacraments which he had repeatedly forsworn; that he had entered into leagues with foreign Princes, received pensions and allowances from Spain, concerted measures injurious to the Crown with the Duke of Savoy, and a thousand times over incurred the full penalties of actual rebellion. Nevertheless, that it was wholly impossible, in his case, to observe the ordinary forms of judicature. No prisons could retain, no chains could bind so powerful a delinquent. No minister would have dared to examine, no judge to condemn him; and even if he had been condemned, force would still have been wanting to put the sentence into execution. On these accounts he, the King, who in his own person was the acknowledged representative of justice, possessing such superabundant and overflowing evidences of guilt, resolved to put the offender to death by his sole plenary authority; and *by the assistance of God* (it is of one of the foulest acts recorded in History, although perpetrated on an ambitious, perhaps a treacherous subject, that he is speaking) he had happily compassed his desire though opposed by a thousand almost insuperable difficulties. In conclusion, that

by committing this assassination, he had satisfied Heaven, Justice and his own conscience, and had secured the well-being and repose of his dominions; therefore that he requested the kind offices of the Cardinal so to represent this necessary and just deed to his Holiness that it might not be deformed by the malignant artifices and relations of his enemies. To this acute and logical defence of homicide, by which killing was satisfactorily proved to be no murder, the Legate replied as a Legate may be expected to reply, wherever it is the interest of his Apostolic Master to keep on good terms with the Court to which he is deputed; and sagaciously diverted the matter into an argument for the extermination of Heresy and the Huguenots. Henry assured him in return that if the Pope would but approve his conduct and lend his aid, there soon should be but one Religion in France. Moresini, catching at this declaration, promised the concurrence of Rome; and not thinking it politic at a moment of such doubt and danger to introduce other than public topics, purposely forbore to request the release of the Cardinal of Guise, who had been arrested at the moment of his brother's death. Henry interpreted this silence as an acquiescence in his ulterior designs, and not apprehending any objection from the Pontiff, proceeded to disencumber himself of the Cardinal, by means similar to those which he had just employed against the Duke.

Now it is quite plain that such a conversation, if it had really occurred, never could have met any other ears than those of the two interlocutors; and we must excuse its introduction by the Historian on the same grounds as we forgive a soliloquy in a Tragedy—it is a mere vehicle by means of which a writer agreeably conveys to us that which it is only natural to suppose has passed in the minds of his heroes. But alas! what is to be said if we can show that not only the conversation is (as we think we have proved above it legitimately may be) a work of invention, but that the interview itself is equally so; that Moresini, so far from having heard mass, and talked with the King within an hour of Guise's murder, (as Davila represents the above scene, it could scarcely be more,) in vain solicited an audience on the morning of that day, although he employed the powerful mediation of Madame de Nemours; that he could not even obtain admission to the Palace; and that he did not see the King till the *third day* after the death of the Cardinal of Loraine. These facts are distinctly stated in one of the Legate's own Letters to the Cardinal Montalto, a nephew of Sextus V., annexed to the Memoirs of his Life written by the Archbishop of Spalatro. Who, after this strange contradiction, shall dissent from Sir Robert Walpole's often-cited *dictum*, or venture to adopt any other principle but that of Pyr-

rhonism in matters of History? How easily Mr. Browning is satisfied with the materials before him, and how unsuspectingly he follows in the track of his predecessors, without examination, is plain from his having implicitly relied on Davila, without giving a hint that his story is naught.—(ii. 189.)

It is plain from the space which we have allotted to these two great writers that both De Thou and Davila are among our choicest favourites—nor, indeed, have we yet quite done with them; for by and by we shall find occasion to introduce them again incidentally. But we must hasten on at present to a rapid consideration of a few other authors not without just claims upon notice. Among these, Maimbourg must be next mentioned as approaching more closely than the rest to the dignity of History, and as being but little removed in time from the events which he relates. Maimbourg was a man of talents, but unhappily he has failed to please any party. He was a Jesuit, and therefore never wrote without one paramount design; and, wherever it suited his purpose, sacrificed Truth to the interests of his Order, as he believed himself obliged to do for conscience-sake. Nevertheless he quarrelled with his brethren, and by his Will bequeathed to a Carthusian Monastery all the property which had been intended by his Father for the support of an Ignatian College. His Sermons, his History of Arianism, and of the Iconoclasts, were bitterly visited by the Jansenists. The last-named is said by Jortin, very far from an intolerant Critic, “to be written *more Maimbourgiano*, that is, with flagrant insincerity and much of misrepresentation.” His History of Calvinism called up a numberless host of opponents. The Jesuits condemned, degraded, and expelled him for asserting the liberties of the Gallican Church; and most Protestant writers have taxed him with palpable dishonesty. It has indeed been averred, that if we retrench from his Works his descriptions of battles, (which are said to have been written at the close of his second bottle, a *tolerabile hospitium* by which he invigorated his style,) his portraits of Generals, and his falsehoods, the six-and-twenty volumes, of which his publications consist, would shrink into *one* of very attenuated dimensions. This judgment may be exaggerated and too severe; but even Bayle, who (perhaps from a spirit of opposition) has praised him in terms not less unmeasured than those of the condemnation just cited, characterizes him as *Romantic*, (a term here applied in a far stronger sense than that in which it has been used towards Davila,) and admits that his History of the *Ligue*, although equally excellent with all that preceded it, was not equally a favourite with the Public. Du Pin, in his *Bibl. des Aut. de xvii. Siècle*, employs the same epithet *Romantic*; and

attributes to that particular quality the success with which Maimbourg's early Histories were received. But the public taste, he adds, soon recovered itself; his later volumes had little circulation, and, even during his lifetime, the earlier were forgotten. His facts in the History of the *Ligue*, as himself states in his Preface, are chiefly borrowed from Pierre Cayet. It was translated into English, at the command of Charles II., by Dryden, or at least under the protection of that great writer's name. The object of this translation, as well as that of the *Duke of Guise*, a Play already written by Dryden in conjunction with Lee, was to increase Shaftesbury's unpopularity by drawing a parallel between his faction and that of the French *Ligue*.

But besides these Works of larger and (if we may so say) of more *heroic* size, the abundant harvest of minor Memoirs which belong to this period must not be forgotten; and the lover of Biography, of minute history, of anecdote, scandal, and gossip, of the light tale which rises on the morning breeze and is scattered before that of evening dies away, will be amply repaid by hunting out the numerous unremembered duodecimos which illustrate the decadence of the House of Valois. True it is that we have to wade breast-high in blood, and that our path is soiled at every step with unheard-of wickedness. Suetonius, or the Writers of the Augustan History, have scarcely more enormities to recount than may be found in the pages of Brantome and Lestoile, of Condé, Castelnau, Tavannes, and de la Popelinière. But we must stop here, for our limits will not admit a tithe of a tenth of the names which the reader may find, if he so chooses, set down in the ninety folio pages of Le Long, which catalogue the writers on *L'Histoire politique de la France* during these eventful reigns.

The atrocities which passed before their eyes appear in great measure to have diminished the sensitiveness of most of these writers. They became familiarized with crime; and they relate their tales of horror and of guilt in a very equable, unsolicitous, and forgiving tone; as if perjury, murder, adultery, incest, and effeminacy, were but the fashionable, and therefore the pardonable, vices of the day. We are better pleased with the indignant expressions of an old and forgotten English Annalist, Antony Colynet, who, in 1591, compiled the *Tragical History of the Civill Warres raised up in the Realme of France*. He speaks plainly of the dissensions "wrought by the vilest men and meanes that ever were heard of, having attempted and atchieved most haynous and outrageous murthers;" therefore, he continues with equal boldness, "I have thought good to decke the parties with titles and ornaments fit for such deedes, to wit, with sharpe wordes, to expresse more effectually the greatnes of the offences,

protesting not to touch the noble families of Christendome whom I reverence, but the degenerating of them, who having put aside the robes of true Nobilitie are become slaves of treacheries and rebellions, and have clothed themselves with dishonour and infamie; to the end that the Christian reader may, by the signification of grievous Epithetes, comprehend the greatnes of such transgressions as doo boyle in such men, and learne to avoyde the societie of all damned congregations of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram." After all, we much fear, however, that the "grievous Epithetes" of this plain-spoken Chronicler are rather directed against the resisters of authority and the violators of right divine, than against the murderers and minions, the fearless, heartless, and godless children of lust and blood, who formed the *cortege* of Charles IX. and Henry III.

Among the writers just mentioned, Brantome claims the chief place as undoubtedly the most amusing, and with equally little doubt the most indiscriminating. He had seen much, and heard much; and he believed every thing which he had heard, and fancied a great deal more than he had seen. Now and then his anecdotes bear an internal evidence of Truth and Nature, by which they force their way to credit; and we may believe them *in general* as indicating the spirit and manners of his days (what villainous days they were!); but when he brings forward *particulars* without a sufficient voucher, we would as soon pin our faith upon Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, who has indeed largely borrowed from his pages. The History of Brantome's own life furnishes a powerful comment upon the times in which he lived, and throws strong light upon the dissoluteness and total want of principle which characterized them. As a younger son of the Noble House of Bourdeille, he was educated in the Court of Margaret of Valois, Queen of Navarre and Sister of Francis I. and was early destined for the Church. He already possessed the Deanery of St. Yrier, the Priory of St. Royan and another Benefice, St. Vivien-les-Xaintes, when Henry II. conferred on him the Abbey of Brantome, by the name of which he continues to be known to posterity. So that, in his Mother's Will, this facetious and free Historian *des Cocus, des Femmes Galantes, et des Rodomontades*, appears in the masquerading character of *Reverend Père en Dieu, Messire Pierre de Bourdeille, Abbé de Brantosme*. Having made the tour of Italy, he attached himself to the Guises; he was at Amboise at the time of the Conspiracy, which bears its name from that place; and at Orleans on the arrest of the Prince of Condé. In 1561 he accompanied the Grand Prior in conducting the widowed Queen of France to her native dominions; and on his return from Scotland, he visited the Court of London.

On the renewal of the Civil war, this richly-beneficed Ecclesiastic betook himself to the camp, and was present at the capture of Blois, the siege of Bourges and Rouen, and that of Orleans; at which last his patron the Duke of Guise was murdered. He next served in Barbary, and at the surrender of Velcz received the order of Christ from the hands of the King of Portugal. At the close of this expedition he passed to the Court of Spain, and not long afterwards had serious thoughts of enrolling himself as a Knight of Malta. Italy and Savoy again occupied some of his time, and on his return to France he was appointed one of the Gentlemen of the Chamber to Charles IX. While he held this office he had the mishap to save from drowning the Baron de Montesquieu, evilly known afterwards as the cold-blooded murderer of the gallant and illustrious Condé, when he had surrendered himself prisoner at the battle of Jarnac. At this fight also Brantome was present, and it seems he wished to be so at that yet more celebrated one, at Lepanto. We soon after find him in the suite of Margaret of Navarre, who had just married the great Henry, on her entrance into Bourdeaux; and under her patronage there can be little doubt that he profited greatly in the attainment of that species of knowledge by which his Memoirs are so expressly distinguished. At the siege of Rochelle, the Abbé served as a volunteer, and was repaid by a wound: and his career at Court and in the army was continued till the death of his early patroness, Catharine de Medicis, by whom he had been befriended during three-and-thirty years. Deprived of this powerful support, and supplanted by younger aspirants, he passed a querulous old age in retirement, and in the composition of his Memoirs; and after a life of very fruitless activity, and a strange and motley mixture of secular pursuits and spiritual profession, it is in the following awful words that this wretched old man speaks of the length of days which Providence had seen it good to permit him to enjoy: *sans me vanter, le nom de Brantome y a été tres-bien, et en grande renommée; mais toutes telles faveurs, telles grandeurs, telles vanités, et telles vaneries, telles gentilleses, tels bons temps s'en sont allés dans le vent, et ne m'est rien resté que d'avoir été tout cela, et un souvenir encore que quelquefois me plaît, quelquefois me déplaît, m'avancant sur la maudite chenue vieillesse, le pire de tous les maux du monde.* How different from this fretful, peevish, and disappointed reminiscence, from this cold, blank, and dreary avoidance of prospect, are the glowing words of the great Pagan Moralist! *Non lubet mihi deplorare vitam, neque me vixisse pænitet: quoniam ita vixi ut non frustra me natum existimem: et ex vitâ ita discedo, tanquam ex hospitio, non tanquam ex domo.* *Commorandi enim*

Natura deversorium nobis, non habitandi locum dedit. In this passage Cicero is "almost a Christian;" yet how far beyond him in meek dignity, in humble hope, in tranquil aspiration, is one to whom Christ was known, not "almost," but "altogether!" "I have," says Sir Henry Wotton, "in my passage to my grave, met with most of those joys of which a discursive Soul is capable, and been entertained with more inferior pleasures than the sons of men are usually made partakers of. Nevertheless, in this voyage I have not always floated on the calm sea of content, but have often met with cross winds and storms, and with many troubles of mind, and temptations to evil. And yet though I have been, and am a man compassed about with human frailties, Almighty God hath by His Grace prevented me from making shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, the thought of which is now the joy of my heart; and I most humbly praise Him for it. And I humbly acknowledge that it was not myself, but He that hath kept me to this great age, and let Him take the glory of his great mercy. And, my dear friend, I now see that I draw near the harbour of death, that harbour which will secure me from all the future storms and waves of this restless world; and I praise God I am willing to leave it, and expect a better—that world wherein dwelleth Righteousness, and I long for it."

As a proof of Brantome's inconsistency, it has been remarked that in his female histories he perpetually terms a lady *une dame fort belle et honnête*, although in the next paragraph he may prove her *une putaine fioffée*. But such in fact we may readily believe were nine-tenths of the high-born dames with whom he lived, and they were not thought the worse of on that account; just as his Heroes, in general, are destitute of honour, honesty, and humanity, not one of which qualities does he appear to consider requisite for their formation. Like Froissart he is, as we have before implied, an admirable painter of manners, and we have no doubt that he presents very accurately "the form and pressure of his times." But it is idle to look in him for any individual truth. It was his usage *de parler beaucoup et de penser peu*; and he manifestly poured forth from a very largely stored, though not a very accurate or well-arranged memory, without forethought or examination, all that had ever found admission into its capacious receptacles. We shall close our notice of him, with an instance of carelessness, forgetfulness, and inaccuracy which may safely be pronounced unparalleled in the whole course of Literature.

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew was perpetrated on the 24th of August, 1572. Pius V. died on the 1st of May, in the same year. Brantome, as we have already shown, was then employed about the person of Queen Margaret, and therefore must have

been well acquainted with public events; nevertheless, under his *Discours sur M. l'Amiral de Chastillon*, he gravely commits to paper the following narrative:

“Touchant l'allegresse et la contenance qu'en fit le bon et saint Pape Pie V. (on le peut appeller ainsi) de ce massacre susdit, J'AY OUI DIRE A HOMME D'HONNEUR QUI POUR LORS ESTOIT A ROME, que, quand on luy en porta les nouvelles, il en jetta des larmes, non pour joye qu'il en eust, comme force gens font en cas pareil, mais de deuil; et quand aucuns de Messieurs les Cardinaux qui estoient près de luy remonstraient pourquoy il pleuroit et s'attristoit ainsi d'une si belle dépesche de ces gens malheureux, ennemis de Dieu et de sa sainteté? ‘Helas, hélas!’ ce dit il, ‘je pleure la façon dont le Roy a usé, par trop illicite et deffendue de Dieu, pour faire une telle punition, et que je crains qu'il en tombera une sur luy, et ne la fera guères longue desormais!’ Comme ce saint homme sceut très bien prophetiser par l'esprit de Dieu que je croy qu'il avoit autant que jamais eut Pape, (a belief in which we heartily coincide). ‘Je pleure aussi,’ dit il, ‘que parmy tant de gens morts, il n'en soit mort aussi bien des innocents que des coupables.’ Comme il fut vray, mesme de fort bons Catholiques, que leurs ennemis faisoient accroire qu'ils estoient Huguenots. De plus ajousta ce bon Saint-Pere, ‘Possible qu'à plusieurs de ces morts Dieu eust fait la grace de se repentir et de retourner au bon chemin, ainsi que l'on a veu arriver a force en cas pareils.’ Comme de vray, combien avons-nous veu depuis force Huguenots s'estre convertis et faits bons Catholiques? Les chemins en rompent. VOILA LE BEAU DIRE ET LA BELLE PROPHETIE DE CE SAINT PERE SUR CE MALHEUREUX MASSACRE.”

Beau dire et belle prophetie, most assuredly, if ever such were delivered by any mortal lips!

“Time was,

“That when his brains were out a man would die:”

But here we find a brainless Pope speaking at least four months after his death. We know that St. Oran was alive, and talked rather wildly of the out-of-the-way places which he had visited, three days after his friend St. Colum had stopped his breath, by building him up into a new stone wall in his cathedral of Iona, for very wise and charitable purposes; and we can only account for the retention of language by Pius V. after so much longer an interval, by the far higher graduation in the scale of Beatitude which a Saint-Pope must attain above an ordinary Saint: in other words, that if a simple Priest may be allowed 72 hours of interlocutory indulgence, much more may be granted, *à fortiori*, to a Sovereign Pontiff. But the marvel ceases not here. This dead-alive descendant of St. Peter, by his journey to the other world,

acquired sentiments and diction widely differing from those which he was accustomed to exhibit while a man among mankind; and his posthumous humanity stands in the strongest possible contrast with his vivacious ferocity. Who would believe that his Holiness, who, having been once buried, spoke with tears in his eyes of the wholesale murder of hapless and perhaps innocent heretics, but a short time before he was incensed and inhumed, had fervently urged that very operation upon its perpetrators. That he had stimulated Charles IX. after the battle of Jarnac, to pull up by the roots all the tares which remained, *nisi enim PENITUS EXTIRPATÆ fuerunt, futurum est ut rursus pullulent*; and that he had placed before his eyes the ill example of Saul, who was over-lenient with the Amalekites.* Again, that he had advised him not to admit any solicitation for pardon, nor to concede any thing to ties of blood or close alliance, *sed omnibus qui pro scelestissimis hominibus rogare audent, inexorabilem te præbere oportet*;† and in the same mild and Christian spirit that he had exhorted Catharine to dissuade her son from Peace with the children of Satan, and to press upon him the holy necessity by which he was bound, *ad conficiendas intestini belli reliquias et justissimas de communibus hostibus pœnas sumendas*.‡

Neither are Brantome's imaginary *post mortem* lamentations of the deceased Pontiff, for the spilling of that blood which he had long wished to see licked up by dogs in the pools of Paris, at all borne out by the reception with which the news of the enormity actually met, when it was announced to the real possessor of the Triple Crown. We need not remind our readers that Gregory XIII. performed high mass, and chaunted a solemn *Te Deum*, in honour of the glorious act, and that he handed down his approbation of it to posterity, by striking a medal with his own impress on one side, and on the other the exterminating Angel destroying the Protestants, with the legend *Huguenotorum strages*. It is not too much to affirm that the tender-hearted *Saint-Pere* of Brantome, if he had been still uncanonized at the moment, would have acted in the same manner, and (if we may use such an Hibernicism) have imitated his successor.

We have entered upon a seductive path, and we could willingly pursue it much farther; but a recollection of the limits wherein we are confined warns us to abstain from treading onward in a course which only lengthens as we advance, and of which, unless we stop of our own accord, we freely confess that we do not perceive an end. We must, therefore, strike once again the

* *Epist. Pii V. iii. 10, 45.*† *Ibid. 16.*‡ *Ibid. iv. 2.*

key note from which we have wandered into the above *fantasia*, and return to Mr. Browning.

Mr. Browning's sole merit is, that, like Sir Hugh Evans, he has "prayed his pible well." He has probably read most that is to be read on the subject whereon he has chosen to write; but his materials are ill digested, and mixed together without judgment or discrimination; so that the produce is but that which the *Charlatan Lorain* dispenses in the *Satyre Menippée*, (a Work which has often, no doubt, occupied much of Mr. Browning's attention,) a *fin Galimatias*.

The origin of the *soubriquet*, (if it be such) Huguenot, given to the followers of the Reformed Religion in France, is still undecided. Mr. Browning very briefly touches upon it in a note not very accurately put together.

"Various definitions of this epithet exist. Pasquier says that it arose from their assembling at Hugon's tower, at Tonrs, he also mentions that in 1540, he heard them called *Tourangeaux*, (vol. i. p. 859). Some have attributed the term to the commencement of their petitions, 'Huc nos venimus.' A more probable reason is to be found in the name of a party at Geneva, called *Eignots*, a term derived from the German, and signifying a sworn confederate. Voltaire and the Jesuit Maimbourg are both of this opinion."—vol. i. pp. 22, 23.

The fact, we believe, stands as follows: that till the year 1560 the French Protestants, although differing in many points from Luther, were known either under the generic term of *Lutheriens*, or, from their denial of the Real Presence, of *Sacramentaires*. About the year just mentioned they received their new name, which we have little doubt is a corruption of the Swiss word *Eidgenossen* (confederates), used by the Genevese, who united themselves with the Swiss Cantons against the yoke of Charles III. of Savoy, and introduced by the French Reformed themselves as a distinctive title, not conferred by their enemies as a term of reproach.

Etymology, however, has run wild in its search after other sources. Huguenot, says one writer, is derived from the Flemish *Gheus*, a beggar; or rather, suggests Pasquier, it may be from the Swiss *Henes quenaux*, seditious folks; or more probably, advances Skinner, from *les Guenots de Hus*, John Huss's imps; or that they supported the pretension of the line of *Hugh Capet* to the Crown; or that they adopted the doctrines of one *Hugues*, a heretic under the reign of Charles VI.; or that they were not worth more than a *huguenote*, a miserable small coin, current for half a *denier*, under the early Kings; or (as above) that some of their members commenced a speech with the words *huc nos venimus*; or finally, that they used to assemble secretly near the gate

of Hugo, at Tours. We wish we knew more of this Hugo—*Hugo Rer*, as De Thou calls him—for the little of his legend to which that Historian alludes is very attractive. He was a Spirit, it seems, who used to parade the streets by night on horseback, sorely to the discomfiture of all who encountered him. Can he be at all connected with the grisly spectre, with a black mantle and bare ribs, that Sir Hugh de Pountchardon, *le gros veneur*, who has so much interested us in Mr. Surtees' *History of Durham*, and who frightened “the most proud and masterfull Bisshop of England” by his unexpected appearance?

The *massacre of Vassy*, as it is generally called—the *affray* of Vassy, as Dr. Lingard softens it—does in fact appear to us to deserve the latter name, or one very little more harsh, rather than that under which it is more commonly known; Mr. Browning decides otherwise.

“Guise arrived at Vassy precisely as the Huguenots were performing divine service. He expressed great indignation, and went to church to hear mass. Only a small party followed him, the rest hastening to the spot where the protestants were assembled, commenced their attack upon them by gross insults and abusive language. An assault so unprovoked, excited the indignation of the protestants, and both parties soon came to blows. The strife was very bloody, for Guise's men rushed into the building where the meeting was held, and fell upon the assembly sword in hand: women, children, and aged persons, were the earliest of their victims. The news of this tumult reached the Duke, who immediately left the church to appease it. Unfortunately he received a blow on his cheek from a stone; the sight of his face bleeding, rekindled and augmented the rage of his followers; they renewed the massacre, and continued it with barbarous activity. They pulled down and destroyed the pulpit, burned the books, and spared neither age nor sex; every one that could not escape from them was murdered. More than eighty persons were killed on this occasion.

“It has been said that Guise wished to interpose his authority, and prevent the effusion of blood; and that but for the wound he received, no massacre would have taken place. As a warrior he was celebrated for heightening the splendour of his victories by his humanity to the vanquished; but his generosity was confined, it would appear, to the field of honour; and when bigotry urged on to murder, that noble quality could not expect to be encouraged. Surely he would otherwise have shewn, on behalf of defenceless women and children, and unarmed men, some of that pity which he had displayed upon the field of battle. His attendants consummated a frightful butchery, while he had a slight wound dressed at a trifling distance: indeed his retiring for that purpose tacitly encouraged them by exhibiting his wound as an excuse, as well as a pretext for their conduct. Subsequently, when the public voice accused him as the *butcher of Vassy*, he made an attempt to justify himself, and get rid of the imputation; but his observation to one of his

officers, who commanded at Vassy, is an unanswerable argument for his guilt. Guise reproached him with having been the original cause, in not preventing a meeting of heretics. The officer excused himself by saying, that the edict of January allowed them to assemble in the suburbs. This reply inflamed the rage of the Duke, who laid his hand upon his sword, declaring that it must be settled by that means. His attendants, therefore, had anticipated his intentions. If the special object of Guise's journey be taken into consideration, it must be admitted that he could not well be displeased with the zeal of his followers, in first insulting, and afterwards attacking the Huguenots; and he must have all the ignominy of the transaction. One account states that the Duke approached when they were preaching, out of curiosity; another, that he warned the protestants to suspend their service, till after he had heard mass, but they only sang the louder, out of bravado, for he happened to come at the very moment they were singing psalms. But neither of these offer any reason to suppose, that a handful of unarmed protestants would have given provocation to a considerable troop, commanded by the first captain in France. Most catholic writers treat this massacre with a cruel indifference, but as it was the occasion of a civil war which followed, they are always anxious to make the protestants appear the aggressors."—vol. i. pp. 115—118.

Unfortunate as were the results of this tumult, bloody and unjustifiable as were the extremes to which the followers of Guise pressed it, we cannot but think that it was altogether an accidental affray, naturally arising out of the exasperated state of men's minds on both sides; and in which it is an impossible task to distinguish, in the first instance, between the offended and the offenders. It should be remembered, that the elder La Brosse had been wounded as well as the Duke himself, before any lives were lost; and that there appears to have been quite as much inclination to violence on the part of those who ultimately suffered most, as on that of the victors. It is one of those events which has derived importance solely from its consequences; for isolated, and left by itself, it would soon have been forgotten; but it was the *first* blow, and it has therefore always been assumed as the epoch from which the subsequent enormities are to be dated. In our times we have all heard hard names given to events of which posterity will be careless. Who now remembers the once far-famed "Manchester Massacre," but some unfledged orator in a Meeting against Select Vestries or for the Election of Common Councilmen?

Mr. Browning examines with much particularity, and we think with eminent success, the charge which the Roman Catholic writers have with so much perseverance continued to bring forward against the Admiral Coligny, of being privy to, if not of having excited, the assassination of the Duke of Guise at Or-

leans. We have already spoken of a similar calumny against Beza; and each is to be traced to the same unworthy origin, the declaration (or *assumed* declaration, for it was published by the enemies of the accused,) afterwards retracted, of the murderer himself, while suffering under the agonies of torture. It might be thought that the frankness of the Admiral's character, his freedom from suspicion and its accompanying train of dark qualities, the openness and gallantry of disposition through which his own life was afterwards sacrificed, would have been sufficient to clear him. Or, above all, that the remarkable words in his Letter to the Queen Mother would dispel all doubts, in which he intreats that the execution of Poltrot might be delayed, and that he might be kept in some place of security, without intimidation or subornation, until he could be confronted with the man whom he had so foully accused. Surely a conscience labouring under inward knowledge of guilt would have sought to veil its crime from others by some hypocritical regret, some expressions of feigned sorrow; but, on the contrary, Chastellon, while indignantly avowing his innocence, not less boldly states his conviction that Guise's death was the happiest event that could have occurred. Could he have made such a declaration as follows if he had been instrumental in procuring it? *Ne pensez pas, Madame, que ce que j'ai dis soit pour regret que j'aie à la mort de M. de Guise, car j'estime que ce soit le plus grand bien que pouvoit arriver à ce Royaume, à l'Eglise de Dieu, et particulièrement à moi et à toute ma maison. Aussi que s'il plaît à votre Majesté ce sera le moyen de mettre ce Royaume en repos.*

We will not dwell farther on this occurrence than to notice the impossible harangues which Garnier, in his History, has made the dying Guise deliver to Catharine de Medicis, to his Duchess, and their children. They occupy two quarto pages, and are as terse, smooth, polished, and nicely-balanced, as those of the Chamberlain of London when presenting the Freedom of his City, or of a young *élève* of the Ministers, on moving an Address in answer to the King's Speech. Perhaps it is some recollection of these last words of the murdered Prince which has led Mr. Browning into the very magnificent figure in which he informs us that as soon as Guise "heaved his last sigh,"—"the Genius of Civil War seemed to make a halt before his bier."

The Duke of Anjou's memory, in common, alas! with most of the Princes and Nobles contemporary with him, will not bear a heavier load of infamy than that with which it may authentically be charged. In the following passage we think that Mr. Browning has either mistaken or misrepresented the authority upon which he relied.

"The Duke of Anjou slept at Jarnac, in the same house where the Prince of Condé had lodged the preceding night. He had the cruelty to behold the body of the unfortunate Prince borne by an ass through the Catholic army. Condé's body became an object of derision with many, who before had trembled at his name alone: it was afterwards sent to the Prince of Bearn, who caused it to be interred at Vendome, in the sepulchre of his ancestors."*—vol. i. pp. 242, 243.

Now it appears to us from the words of Davila, which we subjoin, that Henry so far from having cruelly rejoiced at the special indignity, (which no doubt was offered,) was a reluctant if not an angry spectator of it; that he carefully prevented any repetition of insult; and that, as early as he could, he restored the body of his fallen enemy to his relations and companions in arms, in order that it might be interred with becoming honours. The Historian of the Civil Wars writes as below:—

"Il Duca d'Angiò proseguendo i nemici, entrò la medesima sera della giornata vittorioso in Giarnacco, (here is not any thing about sleeping in the same house,) ore con jattanza militare fu portato morto il Principe di Condé sopra le spalle d'un vilissimo somaro, godendo et allegrandosi di tale spettacolo tutto l'esercito, che mentre visse haveva molto temuto la ferocia e il valore di tanto huomo. Non permesse il Duca che al cadavere di lui fosse usato scherno, ne fatto strattio di sorte alcuna, bastandoli che quello, che si dubitava tanto de fare, o con l'arte, o per mezzo della giustitia, fosse succeduto nel fatto d'arme; onde pochi giorni dopo, per mostrare anco verso il morto quel rispetto che stimano esser dovuto al sangue regio, lo restituò al Henrico Principe di Navarra suo nipote, che senz' ultra pompa, ma con abbonatissime lagrime di tutta la fattione, lo fece sepolire a Vandoma, ne' monumenti de' suoi progenitori."†

Mr. Browning, after noticing the vehemence with which Pius V. had urged on the work of Persecution, remarks that the Letters which he wrote after the Peace of St. Germain-en-Laye, were in another tone; and hence he deduces, an inference, that he was acquainted with the intended massacre of St. Bartholomew.

"As the subsequent letters of Pius V. were of a very different character, we may fairly presume, that he was privately informed of the plot already in preparation. It is impossible otherwise to account for the great change which is obvious in the different letters he afterwards wrote to the King and Queen of France; after having so repeatedly urged the extermination of the protestants, it is improbable that he should suddenly discontinue his zeal, unless he had received some intimation of the Queen's designs, especially as his correspondence evinces the same anxiety for supporting the catholic religion.

"Very soon after he made an attempt to obtain troops from France for the assistance of Mary Queen of Scots, and the letter is remarkable for the absence of all exhortation to destroy the heretics, although in

* Dav. liv. iv. p. 481.

† Davila, iv. p. 227. Ed. 1733.

persuading the Queen to the measure, he alludes to the help which the protestants continued to receive from the Queen of England, whom they informed of every thing that passed in France."—vol. i. p. 290.

The last fire-and-sword-breathing Letters to which allusion is here made, were addressed to the Cardinals of Bourbon and Lorraine, bearing date 23d September, 1570. Only three Letters to Charles IX. are extant subsequent to these. The first, dated November 3, 1570, is an official despatch urging upon the King the recognition of Cosmo de Medicis as Grand Duke. The second, dated December 12, 1571, is an exhortation to join a Crusade against the Turks; and it is manifest that in each of these the Pope, having a specific object in view which he was very anxious to compass, had too much political sagacity to deviate from it into extraneous matters. In the third and last Letter, dated January 25, 1572, we think there is most conclusive evidence that Pius was not at that time acquainted with the King's intentions; and that the Court of France, however long before it had meditated the approaching massacre, was far too wary to intrust any but those immediately within its own pale, with the terrible secret. In this Letter the Pope renews his exhortation to the Crusade. He then most powerfully and peremptorily condemns the projected marriage between Henry and Margaret. All hope of *his* conversion, he observes, is idle; but for the unhappy Princess, *si ipsa ad mariti se voluerit errores conformare, fortasse quidem illa quiverit humanâ ac fallaci quâdam miseræ hujus vitæ quiete potiri; sed cum sempiternâ deinceps damnatione infelicitateque nunquam apud inferos terminaturâ.* After this gentle immundo, as to ulterior consequences, he concludes, *quamobrem te ut hoc incepto desistas et hortamur et obsecramur.* The single remaining Letter to Catharine de Medicis does not indeed contain any direct counsel for the destruction of the Huguenots; but the chief motives by which she is pressed to aid the Queen of Scots are, that if that Princess should obtain the English Crown, *Gallicos tumultus nunquam sanè pateretur;* and again, *fieret ut Christianissima Majestas tutior esset ab hostibus qui eam assidue circumstant ac fortasse contra illam conjurant.* In this language there is certainly no abandonment of deadly enmity to Protestantism; but the season did not permit immediately active measures, and the Pope, as a wise Statesman and Diplomatist, abstained from encouraging the flame while it wanted fuel to support it, if excited into a momentary and inefficient blaze. On the whole, each and all of these Letters present Pius V. in the character of a most bigoted and remorseless Persecutor; but they do not afford any trace of secret understanding between him and the Court of France, as to the plot which was ripening; on the

contrary, the Letter of January 25, 1572, establishes a directly opposite belief. It is probable that the first hint which the Holy Father received was that given to Cardinal Alessandrino, on his arrival at Blois, in March of the same year.

We pass by the Massacre of St. Bartholomew itself, to which the above remarks may appear about to lead us. But the question as to its premeditation and the extent of its horrors has been so ably settled by Dr. Allen, in his *Reply to Dr. Lingard's Vindication*, (a masterly summary of evidence replete with Historical information,) that it is obviously unnecessary to enter upon it. Mr. Browning also has very faithfully collected and compressed the chief incidents of that night of guilt and horror. We extract a single passage, which presents one of the most remarkable and interesting individual narratives.

“The Marshal de la Force was a child at the time of the massacre; he has left some memoirs of his life, and has given the following narrative of what occurred to him: ‘A horse-dealer, who had seen the Duke of Guise and his satellites go into the Admiral Coligny’s house, and who gliding through the crowd, had witnessed the murder of that nobleman, ran immediately to give information to M. Caumont de la Force, to whom he had sold ten horses a week before.’

“‘La Force and his two sons lodged in the faubourg St. Germain, as well as many Calvinists. There was not then any bridge which joined this faubourg to the city. All the boats had been seized by order of the court to carry over the assassins. The horse-dealer plunged in, swam across, and informed M. de la Force of his danger. La Force was out of his house, and had time enough to save himself; but seeing his children did not follow him, he returned to fetch them. He had scarcely entered again when the assassins arrived. One Martin at their head entered his room, disarmed him and his two children, and told him with dreadful oaths that he must die. La Force offered him a ransom of two thousand crowns; the captain accepted it; La Force swore to pay it to him in two days, and immediately the assassins, after having stripped the house, told La Force and his children to put their handkerchiefs in their hats in the form of a cross, and made them tuck up their right sleeves on the shoulder: that was the token for the murderers. In this state they made them pass the river, and conducted them into the city. The Marshal de la Force declares that he saw the river covered with dead bodies. His father, his brother, and he, landed before the Louvre; there they saw several of their friends murdered, and among others the brave De Piles, father of him who killed in a duel the son of Malherbe. From thence Captain Martin took his prisoners to his house, Rue des Petits Champs; made La Force and his sons swear that they would not go out thence before they had paid the two thousand crowns; left them in the custody of two Swiss soldiers, and went in search of other Calvinists to massacre in the city.’

“One of the Swiss, touched with compassion, offered the prisoners

to let them escape. La Force would do nothing of the kind; he answered, that he had pledged his word, and that he would rather die than forfeit it. An aunt of his had procured for him the two thousand crowns, and they were going to be delivered to Captain Martin, when the Count de Coconas (the same who was afterwards beheaded) came to tell La Force that the Duke of Anjou wished to speak to him. Immediately he made the father and the children go down stairs, bare-headed and without their cloaks. La Force plainly saw that they were leading him to death; he followed Coconas, praying him to spare his two innocent children. The younger (aged thirteen years, the writer of this, and who was called James Nompar), raised his voice, and reproached the murderers with their crimes, telling them that they would be punished for it by God. In the mean time the two children were led with their father to the end of the Rue des Petits Champs. They first gave the elder several stabs; he cried out, 'Ah! my father! Oh! my God! I am dead.' At the same instant the father fell upon his son's body covered with wounds. The younger, covered with their blood, but who by an astonishing miracle had received no stab, had the prudence to cry out also, 'I am dead.' He threw himself down between his father and brother, and received their last sighs. The murderers believing them all dead, went away, saying, 'there they are all three.' Some wretches afterwards came to strip their bodies. The young La Force had one stocking left; a marker of Verdelet's Tennis Court wished to have it; in taking it off he mused on the body of the young child. 'Alas!' said he, 'what a pity! This is but a child, what can he have done?' These words of compassion obliged the little La Force to raise his head gently, and say in a low voice, 'I am not yet dead.' The poor man answered, 'do not stir, child; have patience.' In the evening, he came to fetch him. 'Get up,' said he, 'they are no longer here,' and put a shabby cloak upon his shoulders. As he conducted him, some of the executioners asked him, who is that boy? 'It is my nephew,' said he, 'who has got drunk; you see what a state he is in: I am going to give him a good whipping.' At last the poor marker took him to his house, and asked thirty crowns for his reward. From thence the young La Force was taken in the disguise of a beggar to the arsenal, to his relative Marshal Biron, grand-master of the artillery. He was concealed some time in the girls' chambers; at length, hearing that the court were hunting after him to destroy him, he made his escape in the dress of a page, under the name of Beaupuy."—vol. i. p. 342—345.

To this passage we shall add the following very just estimate which Mr. Browning has formed of Dr. Lingard's version.

"Great importance has been attached to the recent publication of Dr. Lingard. His History of England has been held up as an antidote to the incorrect and prejudiced writers of preceding times; the persecution of the French Protestants being so interwoven with the events of Elizabeth's reign, he could not avoid discussing the subject; and a short notice of this work will therefore be useful. His account is founded on the Duke of Anjou's confession. In the body of the work his remarks

are short; but the subject is treated more at length in a note at the end of the volume. The assertions which are there made excited considerable attention on their publication, and some observations in the reviews became the cause of a treatise in vindication of the original remarks. In the history, the notes, and the vindication, there are many inaccuracies which will immediately strike every one acquainted with the French history of this period; and without insinuating that the reverend gentleman has intentionally misrepresented any point, there is fair ground for inferring that he has in some cases taken a quotation on the authority of a partial writer, and that his acquaintance with the French authors is very superficial. The following are a few of the cases alluded to:—

“ ‘Coligny and his counsellors perished; the populace joined in the work of blood, and every Huguenot, or reputed Huguenot, who fell in their way was murdered.’* Justice to the population of Paris demanded a statement of the methods used to excite their feelings; but that is passed in silence, because the detail would be fatal to the sentiment meant to be impressed. ‘Several hours elapsed before order could be restored in the capital.’† Certainly several *days* elapsed before any real attempt was made to put an end to the carnage. In the afternoon of the twenty-fourth, public proclamation was made to desist from the massacre, and Dr. Lingard has given a quotation‡ from Lapopeliniere to show that the King gave orders by sound of trumpet, for every one to return home under pain of death for those who continued the murders; but in common fairness the extract from that writer should have been given more at length; it would then appear that the last day of the week was but little less remarkable for murders than the others.§

“ The work contains some errors which deserve notice, although they are unimportant in point of historical argument. ‘So powerful a nobleman, who had *twice* led his army against that of the crown, was naturally an object of jealousy.’|| ‘They reminded him (the King) of the *two* rebellions of the Huguenots, &c.’¶ It is certainly of no real consequence that Coligny had been engaged against the King’s troops more than twice,** and that there had been *three* civil wars or rebellions instead of two; but the assertion shows how much this writer’s reputation for research and accuracy has been overrated. Two other remarks are unaccountable: in one the admiral’s assassin is placed in an *upper* window,†† a thing impossible in a narrow street; the other mentions the ringing of the bell of the *parliament house*.‡‡

“ The Doctor’s remarks respecting the number of killed are curious;

* History of England, vol. viii. p. 96.

† Ibid.

‡ Note E. p. 440.

§ Lapopeliniere, vol. ii. liv. 29, p. 67. We must suppose either that Dr. Lingard has not consulted the History of Lapopeliniere; or that having consulted it, he has refused to relate the whole truth.

|| Note E. p. 436.

¶ Ibid, p. 438.

** Besides sieges and skirmishes, there were no less than six battles; viz. Dreux, St. Denis, Jarnac, La Roche-Abeille, Montcontour and Amay-le-Duc.

†† Note E. p. 437.

‡‡ Ibid, p. 439. If by Parliament House is meant the Palace of Justice, it is at variance with the general accounts; and there was no other building which could be so called.

‘ among the *Huguenot* writers, Perefice reckons 100,000, Sully 70,000, Thuannus 30,000, Lapopeliniere 20,000, the reformed Martyrologist 15,000, and Masson 10,000. But the Martyrologist adopted a measure which may enable us to form a tolerable conjecture ; he procured from the ministers in the different towns where massacres had taken place, lists of the names of persons who had suffered, or were supposed to have suffered. He published the result in 1582 ; and the reader will be surprised to learn, that in all France he could discover the names of no more than 786 persons ; perhaps if we double that number we shall not be far from the real amount.* Of the above six *Huguenot* writers, three were well-known Catholics, viz. Perefice, Archbishop of Paris ; Thuannus, or De Thou, and Masson. Lapopeliniere abjured Protestantism, and the only *Huguenot* of them all is Sully, with the exception of the anonymous Martyrologist, respecting whom it is a fair subject for inquiry who he was, and whether his work was not one of the artifices of the League to diminish the odium which even at that time was entertained for these effects of Popish bigotry. Dr. Lingard himself seems aware that his position is untenable, for in his *Vindication* he changes his ground, represents his printer to have inserted the word *Huguenot* instead of *National*,† and afterwards declares how little importance he attaches to the contradictory conjectures of historians, adding that as he had taken Caveyrac for his guide, he refers the reader to him as his sole authority.‡ Such a reference renders comment unnecessary ; it must, however, be observed, that more than seven hundred persons of distinction were killed,§ and supposing the Martyrologist to have been what is pretended, his researches must have been for persons of a particular class, or he could easily have found more names than he did ; but the list contains chiefly the names of persons of the lowest condition ; and when the period of its publication is considered, there is very great appearance of its being intended to discredit the then prevailing opinions, if not in France, at least in foreign parts.

“ In replying to the reviewers, Dr. Lingard goes more deeply into the subject, but with no better success, for errors are often discernible. ‘ The ceremony (the marriage) had been fixed for the eighteenth of August, but he (Coligny) went to court in June,’ &c.|| It was, however, the death of the Queen of Navarre in June, which caused it to be delayed till August. To show how unlikely it was that the King should be so great a dissembler, he is stated to have been no more than *twenty* years of age,¶ whereas he was in his *twenty-third* year.

“ Respecting the league of Bayonne in 1565 there are some observations worthy of attention. Dr. Lingard shows that there is no proof of it beyond the suspicions of the *Huguenots*, and which suspicions had not much effect even on them, for they placed themselves without hesitation at the mercy of the court, at the assembly at Moulines in 1566.** So far, however, from trusting to the court, the fact was, that they went so

* Note E. p. 441. † *Vindication*, &c. p. 15. Paris Edit. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 45.

§ Maimbourg, *Hist. de Calvinisme*, liv. vi. || *Vindication*, p. 18.

¶ *Vindication*, p. 18. Charles IX. was born in May, 1550. ** *Ibid*, p. 51.

well accompanied, that the Queen did not dare attempt anything.* It is moreover singular, that to prove there was nothing in contemplation against the Huguenots, a letter should be produced from Strada, written by Philip II. to his sister in the Netherlands. It states 'that the Queen of Spain having entreated her brother and her mother to remedy the perilous state of religion in France, found them perfectly disposed to follow the counsels which were discussed; that several marriages, and an alliance against the Turks, were proposed; but that nothing was decided, because the Queen turned aside *every subject but that of religion*, which she recommended anew to her brother and mother at the suggestion of the Duke of Alva, and that the meeting broke up.'† It has been said that Strada did not believe that any idea of the massacre was entertained at this meeting; but the substance of the letter which he has preserved, shows that measures were then canvassed for suppressing the Huguenot party: and the argument as to whether or not he did believe that the massacre was then discussed, rests altogether upon a difference in the punctuation of a paragraph."—vol. i. pp. 380—384.

Mr. Browning relates the following anecdote of the Elector Palatine as he received the King of Poland on his passage to his dominions. Unless he has relied upon other authorities than Brantome and De Thou (and he has not cited any other) he has fallen into very great inaccuracies in his transcription.

"The King of Poland quitted France in November, 1573. During the journey he stopped at Heidelberg, where the Elector Palatine omitted nothing which could remind him of the St. Bartholomew. In the apartment destined for him, was placed a large picture of the massacre, in which the Admiral and the principal persons murdered were represented in their natural size. The King was surrounded with French Protestants who had escaped; they regarded him with a mournful air, and suffered him to hear some of their murmurs against himself, as a cause of their misfortunes. The Elector afterwards led him to the picture, and pointing to the portrait of Coligny, he said, 'You know this man! you have killed in him the greatest captain in all Christendom. And you ought not to have done so, for he has done the King and yourself great services.' Henry attempted an excuse upon the ground of the conspiracy, to which the Elector answered, 'We know the whole history of that,' and quitted the room. This was not the only mortification of the kind which Henry experienced on his journey."—vol. ii. p. 15.

The introduction of the crowd of melancholy Protestants is pure and gratuitous invention. De Thou does not state who were present. Brantome says that the Elector led Henry into the Cabinet *avec deux ou trois des siens*. Again, the Picture was not of the Massacre, but simply of the Admiral—*Le portrait de feu M. l'Amiral, tout de son haut et fait au naturel—In porticu imaginibus Principum et illustrium virorum egregie pictis ornatâ . . . tabula in quâ Colineus depictus erat.*

* Vie de Coligny, p. 314.

† Vindication, &c. p. 53.

The death-bed and character of Charles IX., which Mr. Browning has passed very rapidly, are touchstones of De Thou's honesty. He allows that unhappy Prince parts and virtues, which had been corrupted by evil education and maternal indulgence; so that among his good qualities prudence had degenerated into cunning and penetration into suspicion. However skilled beyond his years in veiling his intentions, he could not always restrain his ferocious bursts of passion. In person it is said that *staturâ fuit prægrandi, sed paulum incurvâ, obstipo capite, oculis torvis, naso adunco, colore pallido et plumbeo*; and the words precisely convey to us the savage and sullen image which may be found in the curious Plate prefixed to the Dedication of the *Venerie* of Jacques de Fouilloux, in which that most Cynægetical writer is presenting his Volume to the King. Charles's favourite amusements were dancing to excess and forging weapons on an anvil. One solitary amour is recorded of him; and such were his nightly terrors after the blood-shedding of St. Bartholomew, that Musicians were stationed in his chamber to soothe his spirits as often as he started from his disturbed dreams. As with Tiberius, his Mental survived his Physical Faculties, and he maintained his characteristic dissimulation to his last breath. It was employed in recommending his brother to submit, as he himself had done, to the counsel of the Queen-mother, whose yoke, had he survived, it was well known he was preparing to throw off for ever.

In like manner we receive Davila's summary of the character of Catharine de Medicis as no small proof of *his* integrity also. He speaks in high terms indeed of her great abilities—and who shall deny these? Her wisdom in providing expedients against sudden emergencies, and in removing unexpected obstacles. Her constancy of purpose, dexterity and patience; her magnificence, affability and liberality. Unless we concede to this extraordinary woman the possession of such qualities as these, the unbounded influence which she exercised, and the unmeasured evil which she worked, are left without adequate causes; and the History of her life becomes an unexpounded riddle. Mr. Browning states that Davila "attributes the greatest part (of the charges brought against her) to malice or ignorance." But it is not thus we understand the Italian Historian. He says that her motives have often been mistaken, and this is probable enough; that measures rendered necessary (herein is his mistake) by policy have been attributed to the depravity of her nature, or her lust of power. A dispute on motives is endless, and Davila, like a prudent General, has taken up the only post in which a chance of defence was afforded him. To desert after her death the Patroness to whom his family owed almost its existence during adversity, would have betrayed a

total absence of honour and fidelity; and it can be a matter neither of blame nor of wonder, that he has sought in some degree to close his eyes upon her wickedness, and has regarded her memory with feelings of gratitude which would, if possible, throw a veil over her crimes. Yet even in spite of this natural desire (a desire not only to be pardoned, but to be praised) Truth has been victorious in the end, and he has delivered himself in terms which sufficiently mark his sense and his abhorrence of her atrocities. *Fu tenuta di fede fallacissima, avida, o più tosto sprezzante del sangue humano più assai de quello che alla tenerezza del sesso femminile si convenga; et apparve in molte occasioni, che nel conseguire i suoi fini, quantunque buoni, stimasse honesti quei mezzi, che gli parevano utili al suo disegno, ancorchè per se medesimi fossero veramente iniqui o perfidiosi.* We accept these words, wrung from an unwilling evidence, not only as an unanswerable confirmation of the estimate which posterity has formed of this remorseless, bloody-minded and perfidious Princess, but moreover as a decisive voucher for the uprightness of him by whom they are delivered.

We are much less satisfied with the unmeasured eulogy which he passes on Henry III.; a King, who, to the dissimulation, perfidy and cruelty of his brother, did not add equal abilities. His conduct even as Duke of Anjou, though widely different from that which rendered him infamous after his accession to the Crown, is far from justifying the praises of Davila, which might, indeed, with very little alteration, be transferred to a Titus or an Alfred. He admits that when Henry attained the Throne, his Religion was counted hypocrisy — his prudence, malignity — his liberality, licentious prodigality; that he was despised and detested, and that his privacy was stigmatized by such unspeakable enormities that his death-blow was generally attributed to a stroke of divine vengeance. Can we hope in the teeth of the numerous authorities which avouch them to deny these imputations? and if we are compelled to admit them, how are they to be reconciled with the existence of a natural disposition, which in youth manifested singular foresight, princely magnanimity, profound devotion, burning zeal for Religion, affection for the good, hatred for the bad, universal benevolence, popular eloquence, dignified affability, generous ardour, and chivalric gallantry? yet such and many others are the virtues with which Davila would clothe this Prince.

It may be worth while to notice a few of the facts recorded by L'Estoile, who appears to have written his Journal without any spirit of partizanship, and who notices occurrences without commenting upon them as good or evil. It might be in accordance with the barbarous customs of the times, that when Salsede was

torn in pieces by four horses, *Le Roi et les Reines assisterent à l'exécution en une Chambre de l'Hostel de Ville, exprès accoustrée et parée pour eux*; but it was scarcely necessary that the King should assist at the previous torture of the unhappy victim; though he did so in concealment, behind the tapestry hangings of the Chamber in which he was put to the question. This is no proof of a humane disposition. Of the wisdom of that Monarch some doubt may reasonably be entertained, of whom we learn that he shot all the wild beasts in his Menagerie because he dreamed that he had been eaten up by Lions and Tigers; that he was in the habit of scouring the streets of his Capital on horseback, at full gallop and masqued, followed by a troop of mummers, knocking down and belabouring with cudgels all whom he met, because the King chose during Lent to enjoy the sole privilege of this refined discursiveness, and to commit *infinies insolences*; that on one occasion during the sitting of a Council in the Louvre, taking offence at the Grand Prior of Champaign, he fell upon him tooth and nail, *jusques à lui donner de coups de pied et de poing*; that he set a fashion which was rapidly followed by his Minions and Courtiers, Dukes, Gentlemen, Pages and Lackeys, of walking abroad publicly, playing with a child's *bilboquet*. We purposely avoid the interior of the Palace and its *mignons frisez et fraisez*, though it is difficult to reject the concurrent testimony, which agrees respecting their detestable licentiousness. We shall speak only to one point more, the *pietà profundissima* which Davila claims for his Hero. We find the King, in company with his effeminate associates, busy in establishing a congregation of Penitents, and joining in a solemn procession, habited as the other brethren; again we see him preaching with his own mouth at a Convent in Vincennes; and finally, on another occasion, heading a Sunday procession through the streets of Paris, with a lighted taper in his hand, telling his beads, listening to a long sermon, and performing all the actions of a devout Catholic; and then, as he quitted the place of worship, demonstrating his sincerity by crying in the ear of an attendant, *comme se mocquant de toutes ces simagrées, "voilà le jouet de mes Ligueurs!" montrant son grand Chapelet*.

We cannot forbear, in connection with this part of our subject, to add one more extract illustrative of the devotion of these miserable times. The Leaguers, in 1585, got up a procession of Penitents to pray God to soften the King's heart, and they afterwards carried an address to the Royal presence at Chartres. Mr. Browning has translated De Thou's account as follows:—

"At the head of it appeared a man with a great beard, dirty and greasy, covered with hair-cloth, and wearing a broad belt, upon which hung a crooked sabre; at intervals he sent forth some harsh discordant

sounds from an old rusty trumpet. After him marched fiercely three other men equally filthy; each of them having on his head a greasy pot, instead of a helmet; bearing coats of mail upon their hair-cloth, with brassards and gauntlets: their arms were rusty old halberds. These three braggadocios rolled about their wild and savage eyes, and bustled a great deal to keep off the crowd collected by this spectacle. After them came brother Ange de Joyeuse, that courtier who had turned capuchin the year before. He had been persuaded, in order to move Henry, to represent in this procession the Saviour going up to Calvary: he had suffered himself to be bound, and to have his face painted with drops of blood, which appeared to flow from his thorn-crowned head. He seemed to drag with difficulty a long cross of painted pasteboard; and at intervals he threw himself down, uttering lamentable groans. At his sides marched two young capuchins clothed in white robes; one representing the Virgin, the other the Magdalen. They turned their eyes devoutly towards heaven, shedding false tears; and every time brother Ange fell down, they prostrated themselves before him in cadence. Four satellites, resembling the three former, held the cord which bound brother Ange, and gave him blows with a scourge, which were heard at some distance. A long train of Penitents closed this ludicrous procession."—vol. ii. p. 173.

We need not draw the moral which the story of these abominable days sufficiently produces for itself—and we shall conclude here. Mr. Browning may be warned in parting, that if he aspires to the dignity of Historic writing, he should for the future avoid certain familiar phrases, which appear a little out of place, and certain violations of idiom, which occasionally render him difficult to be understood. Thus we had rather not read of "individual experience being very chequered"—of "the autobiographers of the preceding times beholding a progeny of histories"—of Carbeas, whose father had been impaled, desiring "to be avenged of that circumstance"—of the Admiral being "at a furious expense"—of the mother of Ignatius Loyola "passing her accouchement in a stable"—of Catharine de Medicis not allowing "maternal affection to have its proper way"—of the rebellion at Paris "outstripping all idea"—of the Parisians having "great repugnance to eating human flesh," which does not appear to us to be unnatural—and of Lord (the Earl of) Essex being a *preux Chevalier* on account of his "residence at a Court presided by a female." Above all we would warn him against a cropped and curtail fashion into which his acquaintance with French Literature has probably led him, (though he might have learned better things from De Thou,) and we would advise him to restore (even at the hazard of sesquipedalianism) their full complement of syllables to the Proper Names upon which he has performed amputation. *Paul Jove* is every whit as insufferable as *Tacite*, *Denis*, *Polybe*, or even *Tite Live* itself.

ART. VII.—*The Evidences of Christianity; stated in a Popular and Practical Manner, in a Course of Lectures, delivered in the Parish Church of St. Mary, Islington.* By Daniel Wilson, A.M. London. Wilson. 1828. 8vo. 12s.

WE have great pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to this unpretending and very useful volume. Mr. Wilson informs us, in his preface, that he designs to unite the historical with the internal evidences of Christianity, and present them in a popular and practical form; and the work now before us accomplishes the first portion of this important object. The author makes no claim to originality of reasoning, but contents himself with undertaking to state the whole argument for Christianity, and apply every part of it to the conscience. How faithfully and ably he has pursued this plan may be inferred from the extracts which we shall make from his volume.

The first passage which we have to quote is that in which Mr. Wilson assigns his motives partly of a general nature, and partly derived from the peculiar circumstances of our country, for engaging in the present work,

“ 1. The young require it of our hands. We must deliver down to the next age what we received from the preceding. We must not let the inexperienced Christian go out into the world merely with the general persuasion of the truth of his religion. We must give him some furniture of knowledge in a day like the present, when irreligion stalks abroad, when the spirit of inquiry is pushed into the regions of impiety or scepticism, and the mind is exposed to the injection of harassing doubts and suspicions. We call on the young to ratify the engagements made for them at their baptism; and it is but right that we should put them in possession of the chief reasons of the hope which we trust is beginning to animate their breasts. They need something more than the simple word of their parents and ministers.

“ 2. The lapse of time requires it of our hands. We are now so far removed from the age when Christianity took its rise, that the facts of it rest on a longer series of testimonies. The proof of the authenticity of the sacred books demands an arrangement of the train of witnesses. The miracles must be defended. The volume of prophecy, as it unfolds, requires more time and care. We must establish what we say of the first promulgation of the gospel by an appeal to facts. The internal character and the blessed effects of Christianity must be cleared from the errors and misrepresentations which have in different ages obscured them. The obstructions of a long array of errors, which the corruption of man has engendered, must be swept away. Now all this cannot be done without pains and attention. The distance of time does not, indeed, weaken the force of conviction when produced by the proper testimonies; but it weakens the impression of the facts till the testimony

is detailed: and it allows also of any thing being said. The wide space of eighteen centuries gives room for assertions and misrepresentations of every sort—absurd enough when examined—but still requiring to be examined, or outweighed by other and more practical considerations. The title-deeds of the heavenly inheritance are as authentic as in the first age, and where the hope of it is powerful on the heart and life, the process of proof is easy; but they require, from the lapse of time, a more laborious examination, to obviate all the difficulties of a scrupulous mind.

“3. Then the decayed state of piety, and the neglect of religious education, require this of our hands. The tendency of human nature is so strong to a secular and worldly and formal tone of religion; and the external peace which Christianity has in this country long enjoyed, favours so much the insidious evil, as almost to have extinguished amongst us that bright flame of holy faith and hope in our crucified Lord, which sustained the martyrs and confessors of the primitive Church. In such a day, infidelity, the infidelity of the heart, always spreads, because Christianity being defended chiefly on the footing of external evidences, and the strong-hold of religion, its inward grace and spirituality, being less generally understood, the rising generation are unprepared for a subtle adversary. Many hang loosely upon the Christian profession. Religious education is neglected. The precious deposit of the faith is handed down with little care. The Bible is not studied. The young are unfurnished with knowledge and unfortified with holy principles of judgment. In such a day it is essential to re-state the vast importance of Christianity, its irrefragable evidence, its internal excellency, its mighty benefits. In such a day it is necessary to pause in the ordinary course of pastoral instruction, and confirm the minds of the young, and supply the omissions of education, and solemnly inculcate the paramount obligation of Christianity. In such a day it is more than ever necessary to rekindle the flame of Christian faith and hope, by awakening, if it please God to bless the attempt, the consciences of men, and calling them up from a mere indifferent adhesion to the national creed, to a warm and practical perception of the blessed hope which Christianity inspires, and for the sake of which all the external evidences have been accumulated.

“4. Then, in the present age, we have seen the moral desolations which a spurious philosophy has spread far and wide; we have heard the loud claims set up for the sovereignty of human reason; we have witnessed the scorn with which all ancient institutions and established usages have been treated; we have been astonished to see a wild and enthusiastical scheme of pretended benevolence raised on the ruins of all personal virtue and all domestic and civil duties. The altar and the throne have been overturned. The most daring and unblushing attacks have been made upon our holy religion; attacks addressed to the common people, and sapping all the foundations of good order and subjection. The storm has spent itself. The irruption has proved by its devastations its own cure. But enough mischief remains, to call on the minister of religion to erect the standard of the Cross amidst the ruins,

and display aloft the flaming torch of Revelation before the astounded and bewildered world.

"5. It is partly a result of this spurious philosophy, and partly the effect of other causes, that the Christian religion has been too frequently passed by and slighted in our literature, in our projects of education, in our schemes of benevolence, in our plans for diffusing useful knowledge, even where it is far from being expressly disavowed. It has come to be a received maxim with many, that the peculiarities of the Christian faith, its vital truths, its elevating hopes, its mysterious benefits are, as if by common consent, to be kept out of sight. Our piety rises no higher than natural religion. All beyond is bigotry and superstition. A temporizing policy like this blights with a deadly indifference all the bloom of Christianity, robs it of its peculiar glory, and reduces it to the cold detail of external morals. The channels of public information are poisoned. A pernicious neutrality prevails. Education is divorced from religion. Knowledge is accounted sufficient to restrain the passions and purify the heart. The hope of eternal life in Christ Jesus, the fall of man, the redemption of the cross, the grace of the Holy Spirit, are forgotten, evaded, opposed, maligned. Unless therefore heavenly wisdom *utter her voice loudly in the streets*, and plant the standard of Christianity, as the centre of holiness and truth, *in the openings of the gates*, and amidst the crowds of our youthful population, we must expect the more daring invasions of human pride, and the weakening, in the next age, of the venerable and sacred bulwarks of our common faith.

"6. As the unavoidable effect of all this, the minds of Christians generally, are in more danger than usual from the assault of sceptical doubts. The very excitement of the present day, on subjects connected with religion, which has kept pace with the assaults of infidelity, leaves the uninformed believer more exposed to the revulsion which a state of decayed sensibility brings on. When men of warm religious affections are thrown upon their principles, if those principles are unsupported by solid grounds of reason, and some acquaintance with the evidences of Christianity, they are apt to give way for a time, and leave the mind open to the temptations of the spiritual adversary. The rock, indeed, of the Christian faith remains firm and immovable, and the sincere believer, though washed off for a moment by the swelling surge, will regain his footing; yet it is important to prepare him for the storm, and assist him in making fast his position, and teach him how to resist and baffle the waves. He must be duly instructed in the foundation of his faith, and have his mind thoroughly imbued with the collective force of the Christian evidences, in order to be prepared for temptation, and guarded against the danger of apostacy from the faith."—vol. i. pp. 17—23.

The two next passages which we purpose to extract contain clear and concise statements of the great historical arguments for the authenticity of Scripture.

"I. I ask then, in the first place, in what way are other ancient works ascertained to be the productions of their respective authors, and to have been published at the time when they profess to have been?"

“ I take as an example our venerable Book of Common Prayer. How do I know that it was composed by the martyrs and confessors of the English church 300 years since, at the period of the reformation in the 16th century? I answer, because we received it, without contradiction, from our immediate forefathers as the works of these writers, and they from their ancestors, till we come up to the date of publication. I answer, because it was a matter of history at the time; because contemporary authors quote and refer to it; and because adversaries and opponents, though warmly contending against some of its doctrines or rites, never called in question its authenticity, that is, (which is all we are now considering,) its really being the production of the professed writers. Thus I am as certain, for all practical purposes, of this historical fact, as if I had been contemporary with the English reformation. The general obscurity, resting on ancient works, begins, you see, to be dispelled.

“ I go back seven or eight hundred years from the present time, and ask, how do I know that the survey of England, called Domesday Book, was written in the eleventh century, in the reign of William the Conqueror! I apply the like arguments. We received, by the same distinct transmission, the historical fact. It was a matter of record. The original manuscript is now amongst our national records, a fac-simile of which was published by order of parliament in the last reign. It has been referred to by contemporary and all succeeding historians. It has been appealed to in our courts of law from the reign of the first Henry (A.D. 1100) to the present time. I am, therefore, just as certain of the authenticity of this celebrated document, as if I had lived at the period when it was first compiled. The case clears up yet more. You perceive that the genuineness of works published in remote times, may be proved.

“ I go back six hundred years further, and ask, how do I know that the Institutes of the Emperor Justinian were published in the sixth century? The proof is the same, only longer in the series of witnesses. I answer, because the present generation received it from the preceding, and that from the one before it, as the work of that monarch; because it has been a matter of history from his time to the present in all authentic memoirs; because it has formed ever since, and now forms, the code of civil law by which almost all European nations are governed; because it was an æra in legislation, and the distinguishing glory of the reign of Justinian. I ask no more; I could not be better satisfied if I had been a contemporary. We begin to see our way in such inquiries—the ground is firm.

“ I go back still five hundred years, to the Augustan age, the period of our own sacred books, and I inquire how I know the authenticity of any of the most celebrated works of the philosophers of that time, the writings of Seneca for example, born a few years before Christ, and put to death by the command of the monster Nero, about the year 68? I answer, on the same principle as before, because I can trace up the books from the present age, through each preceding one, in the public documents and memorials of the European and other nations, till I come to the Augustan. I turn to Tacitus, the celebrated contemporary his-

torian, whose writings have been in every one's hand ever since, and read the account of Seneca. I turn to Quintilian, who flourished within twenty years of Seneca's death, and read a criticism on his works. From that day to the present I see those works referred to, quoted, commended, blamed, by men of all classes and all ages and all nations and all opinions, differing from each other in almost every respect, but agreeing as to the authenticity of these books. I have all the evidence I could desire. I am as certain of the historical fact concerning the writings of Seneca, as I should have been if I had lived at the time. Thus all the difficulty which we felt before we began the inquiry, is gone. The impossibility of proving the authenticity of ancient works was a mistake. We see that the case admits of a satisfactory determination. The lapse of years makes no difference in our conviction, so long as we can distinctly trace up, by decisive and uninterrupted testimonies, the fact we are in search of.

"I come now to the question of the authenticity of the books of the New Testament, and if I am asked why I believe them to be the undoubted productions of the apostles and evangelists of our Lord; I answer, just on the same historical principles as in all the like cases—because I received these books, as a most sacred deposit, and the undoubted writings of their respective authors, from my immediate parents and teachers, and they from theirs; and so each preceding generation from the one before it, till I ascend, without interruption, from the present day to the very time of the apostles, tracing the distinct proofs and testimonies in each period. I answer, because, not only I, but all Christians in all nations, of all languages and all ages, have done and do the same. I answer, because it is a matter of history, attested by contemporary authors, Jewish, Christian, profane, that these were the writings of the apostles and evangelists. I answer, because amidst the sharpest opposition of heretics within the church, and of Jews and heathens without, these books were never denied to be the authentic documents of the Christian religion, but were taken for granted and argued upon as such. I answer, because hundreds of ancient manuscripts now exist, some of a date within a few centuries of the birth of Christ. I answer, because institutions have arisen, national usages been established, and sacred festivals kept in consequence of the belief of the facts recorded in these books, and on the footing of that belief, and no other, from the apostles' days to the present.

"I am as certain, then, of the naked historical fact of the authenticity of the New Testament, that is, that the books of it were the writings of their respective authors, as I am of that of the Common Liturgy of the English Church, or of the Doomsday Book, or the Institutes of Justinian, or the works of Seneca, or any other ancient writer of whom no serious doubt was ever entertained in the world. I appeal to historical testimony on this historical question, just as in a question of natural philosophy I should appeal to experiment; or in matters of reasoning to conclusive arguments, leading up to primary and universally admitted truths.

"In fact, there are but three ways of receiving knowledge according to the subject matter of the thing inquired into. Does it relate to things material and sensible? I appeal to the report of the senses; as, that

the magnet attracts iron. Does it relate to intellectual things, founded on invariable relations? I arrive at it by just reasoning; as, that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles. Does it relate to matters of fact, as the publication of a certain book, by a certain author, in a certain age? I appeal to testimony.”—vol. i. pp. 100—106.

“Such is my first general observation. We prove the authenticity of the New Testament by the same kind of arguments (though much stronger) as those by which men are uniformly governed in all like cases.

“The testimony of our sacred books can be traced up step by step from the present time to the days of the apostles.

“We asserted this in our general observations. How the proof stands will now be seen.

“Let us take first our own country. No one can for an instant doubt that the books which we receive in the year 1828, as the genuine writings of the apostles, were so received 300 years before, at the period of Cranmer and Ridley, and the other reformers.

“I go back a century and a half from that time, and ask whether they were not acknowledged just as universally in the days of John Wickliffe, in the fourteenth century, who translated these very books into the English language? The fact is undeniable.

“I ascend next to the time of Grosseteste, the celebrated Bishop of Lincoln, and the opponent of Pope Innocent III. in 1240; or to the days of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury under William Rufus, who wrote a treatise against those who mocked at the inspiration of the scriptures; and I ask, were not the same books universally admitted to be authentic then?

“I go up to the reign of Alfred the Great, who founded or restored the University of Oxford, and translated the Old and New Testament into Saxon, in the ninth century. I suppose the very fact of translating our books will be allowed as a proof of the admission of their genuineness.

“I find myself next at the age of the Venerable English Presbyter Bede, born in the year 672, whose fame filled the whole Christian world, and who has left comments on the epistles of St. Paul;—from him we come to Gregory the Great in 590, who sent over Augustine and his companions for the conversion of our ancestors, on the footing of the authenticity of the scriptures. This brings us up to the reception of the books by the Christian churches on the Continent through Gregory, Theodoret, and Fulgentius, in the sixth century; St. Austin, Jerome, and Chrysostom, in the fifth; Ambrose, Athanasius, and Eusebius, of the fourth; Cyprian, Origen, and Tertullian, of the third; till we reach Irenæus, (from A.D. 97 to 202,) who was the disciple of Polycarp, the follower of St. John.

“Thus the testimony from the present time up to the very days of the apostles, is notorious to all mankind, an unbroken chain, where each link is distinctly visible.

“And not only so, but several different series of testimonies may be traced up in the various countries of Christendom; each independent of the rest. One series in Italy, through Gregory up to Clement of Rome,

in the first century. A second in France, through Hilary to Irenæus, Bishop of Lyon. A third in Africa, through Fulgentius, Austin, and Cyprian, to Clemens Alexandrinus and Tertullian. A fourth in Syria, through Ephrem Syrus to Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch in 107. A fifth in Asia Minor, through Anatolius and Pamphilus to Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, martyred in 168. All these witnesses testify, not merely that they received our books from their immediate ancestors, but received them as the authentic writings of their respective authors, acknowledged in all the Christian churches from the age of the apostles, and acted upon from that very time, as the rule of faith and practice. The force of this testimony is irresistible to a fair and candid mind."—vol. i. pp. 127—129.

We have room for only one other extract, and we select a passage in which Mr. Wilson exhorts his readers to make an appropriate practical use of the prophecies contained in the Scripture, and gives a seasonable warning against that irreverent abuse of them which prevails at the present day:

"A review of some of the more remarkable instances in which this vast scheme of prophecy has been fulfilled, and is now fulfilling in the world, will be the object of our next lecture.

"I. In the meantime tell me, in conclusion, if this prodigious scheme has not the impress upon it of the infinite Majesty of God? Tell me whether any kind of evidence can, in its own nature, be more distinct and clear—whether any proof can be of an extent more becoming the majesty of God—whether its parts can converge in a centre-truth of more sublimity and grace—can be developed with more exquisite contrivance—can be communicated by messengers of more purity and integrity, or be directed to ends more worthy the Almighty and most blessed God.

"I see you already are convinced by this display of divine wisdom. The evidence from miracles has prepared you for this different and yet more astonishing testimony from prophecy. The union of the two overwhelms the mind with the superabundant proof. You listened with increased attention as we passed over the rapid survey, and your heart was touched and moved. You saw the wide and irreconcilable distinction between all the petty and miserable conjectures of men, and the majestic and widely-spread ramifications of the holy revelation of God. The dignity and glory of the divine Saviour, incarnate for the redemption of man, seemed to you a suitable and natural centre around which such a system should be placed. All is in proportion.

"II. Proceed, then, in your course of humble and cautious inquiry. Study with sacred awe the amazing subject. You now more clearly comprehend the reason of our insisting so repeatedly, on the right temper of mind in the inquirer into the Christian Evidences. If a man may neglect and reject the palpable proof from miracles, as we shewed to have been the case with the Jews at the time of our Lord, he may also misinterpret the divine prophecies. If our minds are prejudiced against the spiritual and humiliating doctrines of Christianity, and we

come to the investigation with pride and scorn, we shall discover no harmony in the scheme of prophecy, we shall derive no confirmation from it in favour of the Christian doctrine. In such a state of mind, all is perverted, misunderstood, abused. If the deductions of mathematical science were placed before us as the medium of proof for such holy doctrines, in such a state of mind, we should reject them.

“ But to the teachable and candid heart, touched with a sense of the weakness and ignorance of man as a creature, with his demerit and blindness as a sinner, and thirsting for heavenly wisdom, the prophetic word is as rivers of water in a desert land. He traces its rise in paradise. He follows the stream as it flows onward. He marks the union of all the tributary waters in one majestic and widening course. He perceives that each refreshes and fertilizes the immediately adjoining banks, as it rolls on to successive regions. He views the collected torrent pouring into a new hemisphere. He drinks himself of the living waters : and whilst he partakes of its blessings, rejoices in beholding its diffusion and expansion through every region of the world.

“ III. Study, then, the sacred volume with holy and increasing diligence. It is there you will learn the scheme of divine prediction, and the gradual development of it in various dispensations. This is the only safe method of studying a divine revelation. The opinions of men as to what prophecy might or ought to be, and what should be the clearness of its declarations, are out of place. We might as well speculate on what ought to be the operations of nature and the laws of motion. The duty of man is to study the natural world according to the phenomena which present themselves to his examination : and to study a scheme of divine prophecy on the principles which it lays down, and by a contemplation of its several parts, according to its own plan. We study prophecy aright when we study it in the Bible, when we derive our first data from its records, observe on what scheme it professes to proceed, and compare the fulfilment with the predictions to which they correspond.

“ It is one advantage of this method, that it leads men to become acquainted with the whole of the sacred volume. A certain knowledge of the contents of that book is essential to the comprehension of the argument. It is not possible, by quotations, to supply the materials for a judgment. The prophetic scriptures must be examined for themselves. ‘ Nor is this the only instance,’ says a great writer, referring to the prophecies, ‘ wherein our means of judging of revelation depend on some personal study of it. Scepticism is often no more than a form of very unreasonable enthusiasm, demanding conviction without the pains of inquiry.’ Unbelievers, generally speaking, know nothing of the Bible. Nominal Christians too often know but little more of it. It demands all our attention. It is the study of a life. The simplest Christian indeed, with the use of marginal references and chronological tables, may trace out much of the vast theme. His heart assists his understanding. The glory of God, shining in the face of Jesus Christ, guides his footsteps. But in the full development of the divine system, there is employment for the noblest powers, and the longest and most diligent re-

search. It is remarkable that even the prophets themselves understood not adequately their own sacred oracles—*The prophecy came not by the will of man. They spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. They inquired and searched diligently what or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ that was in them did signify.* Let this teach us humility, and stimulate us to diligence in the heavenly science.

“IV. Let us, however, always keep in view the practical ends of the study. We do well to *take heed to the word of prophecy, as unto a light shining in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in our hearts.* This holy purpose—this cheering view of a future world—this obedient attention to present duty—this anticipation of a heavenly and eternal state which is opening upon us—this is the high end of the prophetic word. Thus hope is sustained—thus present afflictions are tolerated—thus painful duties are made more easy—thus, as events confirm and make sure to us the sacred system, we render praise and glory to God.

“Let us guard against *private interpretations*; against *the will of man*; against prying with unhallowed curiosity into unfulfilled predictions; against indulging fancy and conjecture. The church has seen, in different ages, the mischiefs arising from this practice. Nothing tends more to discredit the magnificent subject, if any thing could discredit it, than the impertinence of human conceit, especially if united with ignorance and dogmatism, in deciding on unfulfilled predictions; and, instead of waiting for the slow but sure comment of events, and interpreting prophecy according to the general import of the system to which it belongs, rushing in with unhallowed haste, fixing on an interpretation on partial grounds or insufficient evidence, and then attempting to impose on others the opinions we have espoused ourselves. True wisdom, as well as modesty, appears in the holy and cautious use of the prophetic revelation; which should never be approached but with a recollection that it was written under the inspiration, and must be interpreted according to the entire record and testimony, of the Holy Ghost. Then will the practical ends of it be answered. The scheme, so far as it has been accomplished, will fill us with admiration, love, gratitude, and reliance on a divine guidance in all future events. When we read the unfulfilled portions, we shall content ourselves with those holy exercises of faith and anticipation, which they are calculated to excite. In cases where a real doubt may exist, whether the predictions are fulfilled or not, we shall pursue our inquiries with humble fear. In all cases, we shall keep in mind that the main use of the prophetic word is not to establish us as inspired seers; not to enable us to pronounce, as our Lord did, on the exact manner of the accomplishment of each prophecy, but to afford us that friendly, though feeble light, in a world where futurity is to us impenetrable darkness, which may not, indeed, dispel that darkness, but guide and cheer our faith through the midst of it, till *the day dawn and the day-star arise in our hearts.*”—vol. i. pp. 291—298.

It must not be supposed that we concur in every sentiment contained in this volume. Here and there we notice expressions

coinciding with the opinions maintained in former works by the same author, and from which we have been compelled decidedly to dissent. But the general character, like the great object of the book, is excellent; and we rejoice to see a man of Mr. Wilson's talents, experience, and zeal, passing over those points of doubtful disputation on which good men unfortunately differ, and devoting so large a portion of his time and study to the fundamental truths of religion.

ART. VIII.—*Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion derived from the literal fulfilment of Prophecy: particularly illustrated by the History of the Jews, and by the Discoveries of recent Travellers.* By the Rev. Alexander Keith, Minister of the Parish of St. Cyrus. Third Edition, enlarged. Edinburgh. Waugh and Innes. 1828. pp. 346. 6s.

WE remember a very accomplished and amiable young man, no ways *superstitiously* attached to Christianity, who, in the course of his travels in the East, was so struck by the present state of Tyre, as corresponding with the predictions of Isaiah and Ezekiel, that he was induced more soberly to study and consider what he did not indeed disbelieve, but had not sufficiently revered. We believe that many stand in need of such a monitor who never can receive the admonition through a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the scene of the principal fulfilled prophecies; and the more so, because the prophecies themselves are wrapped up in a text containing a great multiplicity of facts and allusions which have ceased to be intelligible to an ordinary hearer or reader, and are often explained by commentaries which place them still farther beyond their capacity. The commentators are not to be blamed for this: for it certainly requires very great learning and research to enter upon the explanation of matter so ancient and recondite, as well as mysterious; and, to make the explanation satisfactory to a learned reader, it is necessary that learned reasons should be adduced. But there are, nevertheless, abundant instances of fulfilled prophecy so plain and indisputable, that little more is necessary than to put the prediction and the history, or the description, which illustrates it, side by side; and such is the plan which Mr. Keith has undertaken, and which he has executed with very great care, and success proportionate to his industry and good sense.

One great merit of Mr. Davison's admirable work on Prophecy is, that it directs our attention to many prophecies which, because they do not come within the immediate range of that stream of light which began with the creation, and grew stronger, broader,

and fuller, till it ended in the perfect revelation of the Messiah, are apt to be overlooked in their obscurity, though equally real and equally demonstrative of a divine origin, common to them all. Mr. Keith's unpretending little work makes no claim to the development of system, but may be useful in confirming the faith of many, (and haply of winning over the attention of some,) who may not have had the ability, or the patience, to disentangle the high *matter* of Mr. Davison's argument from its perplexing *phraseology*. We are highly indebted to *both* for reminding us of the astonishing proofs of Divine prescience which have been, which are, and which are to come; which have gone before us, and surround us.

A work of this sort is useful in proportion as it is *plain* and *popular*: in proportion too as it is *comprehensive*, and combines under one view the various but harmonious dispensations of Providence, as they have been announced and recorded. A *single* prophecy may have been delivered at hazard, and by hazard fulfilled: the ten-times quoted prophecy of Seneca need not be resolved into any other cause than that of pure blundering fiction which buzzed against an unexpected reality; (we say this because some people have been at the pains to show *how* Seneca came to say the truth;) and if any individual were to predict that our modern Tyres, Liverpool or Bristol, would, in the course of ages, become what Carthage is, and what Venice threatens to be, he might very probably, in the course of ages, be right. But it is the *multitude* of such instances and their consistency which render them important. The same which has proved true of Tyre is true of Nineveh, is still more *palpably* true of Babylon, of Egypt at large, of Idumaea, of the Arabs as a nation, of the Jews. The volume of prophecy *professes* to be a volume of prophecy; it does not here and there throw out a stray prediction to the chance of its fulfilment, but is declaredly, and throughout, a tissue of predictions. All this is admitted, but it is sometimes forgotten, while we read these prophecies *severally*, with our attention confined to one prophet only, or directed to one subject.

The author gives a simple statement of the manner in which he was led to the compilation of this treatise. "A person who disbelieved the truth of Christianity, but appeared to be considerably affected by even a slight allusion to the argument from prophecy," was the immediate occasion of his endeavouring to obtain some compendious statement of that argument. Having failed to find a work such as he desired, or to persuade others to undertake the task, he undertook it himself; omitting very properly, in the execution of it, all those prophecies the sense of which was doubtful,

or the fulfilment of which had taken place before the time of Malachi.

In a work on this subject, and more particularly a work of this kind, little that is *new* can be either expected or *desired*: more particularly in that division of it where, with great propriety, the author adduces *first* the predictions which describe the character and the death of the Messiah. The *manner* of putting these known facts is the chief thing therefore to be attended to, and while we admire Mr. Keith's useful brevity in putting them, we doubt whether it would not have been better to have added the *references* to the places quoted from the New Testament, to distinguish them from what he adds in his own person by way of abstract or comment. The want of a more distinct reference is felt when (as at p. 40) a quotation of great length is made from several prophets, or drawn from different chapters of the same prophet, with nothing more than a slender dash (thus —) to mark the transition, and a line of references at the bottom of the page, to be appropriated according to those dashes, and according to the goodness of the eye-sight or the spectacles of those who, having a better vision than ourselves, are able to apply them. The slightness of this remark will show how secure Mr. Keith is from any more serious charge: even this little defect occurs but seldom, and the smallness of the type (necessary to the compendiousness of the volume) is the only thing which makes it of moment.

After a review of those prophecies which describe our Lord's character, His life, and His death, which demand no elucidation; leaving without excuse those who will not see their application, Mr. Keith gives a summary of such as describe the progress and final triumph of Christianity. In this department occurs a remark which to us is perfectly new, and no less pertinent. Mr. Keith has modestly placed it in a note.

“ Were it even to be conceded—as it never will in reason be—that the causes assigned by Gibbon, for the rapid extension of Christianity, were adequate and true, one difficulty, great as it is, would only be removed for the substitution of a greater. For what human ingenuity, though gifted with the utmost reach of discrimination, can ever attempt a solution of the question—how were all these occult causes, (for hidden they must then have been,) which the genius of Gibbon first discovered, foreseen, their combination known, and all their wonderful effects distinctly described for many centuries prior to their existence—or to the commencement of the period of their alleged operation?”

Mr. Keith has shown great good sense in abstaining from *anticipating* the times and the *manner* in which the great prophecies are to be fulfilled which declare the final and universal tri-

umph of religion; and we know that he does this on principle, because in another place he lays down the rule, and is tempted, very unfortunately, to transgress it.* Yet it is scarcely possible not to realise to ourselves, in some faint degree, the future destinies of the Church, when we behold beneath our feet the vast foundation already laid on which it must stand a pyramid to perish only with the world. The gradual civilization of the earth, in its most distant regions, by Christian Europe, cannot but ultimately accomplish that which we trust may be more speedily and worthily achieved than by such slow, though certain, means. When we look back to the shores of the Galilean sea, at a distance of not many ages, taking into account the immensity of the revealed plans of Providence, and behold the utmost regions of the world yielding to the influence of European arts and reason, while we recognise in this the “enlargement of Japheth” which was predicted of old, we cannot help seeing how that goodly tree, which sprung from so small a seed, does already begin to put forth her branches from east to west; and, though we forbear to put hazard a guess at those times and seasons which certainly it is not ours to know, we feel ourselves called upon to watch the progress of the celestial plant towards that “summer,” which haply may “be nigh at hand.” But these are high matters, and this is not the place for discussing them farther. In the meantime, when our Lord declares “that many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out:” or, as St. Luke has it, yet more strongly: “and they shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God,” (Luke, xiii. 29,) these simple words, declaratory of a fact which no Jewish mind could or would foresee, and which we see to be — so abundantly accomplished in the *visible* Church, might, with many expressions more of our Lord, have been added to those predictions which Mr. Keith has accumulated, announcing the extension of Christianity.

There is another prophecy which has not, we believe, been so pointedly compared with its fulfilment as it appears to deserve. When, in the last words of the Old Testament, Malachi declares: “Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord: And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse:” had this promised mission of John the Baptist proved *ineffectual*,

* By some anticipations respecting the fate of Turkey and its empire, which were more probable in 1828 than 1829.—p. 292, n.

it would doubtless have taken from the value of the prophecy, even though he fully made good in his own character and conduct all its requirements. Had he, who was to prepare a way for the Lord, *failed to have prepared* the minds of men for that advent, there would have been a manifest incompleteness in the prophecy as well as its fulfilment. But we can plainly see how different the real state of the case was: without any support of temporal power, or any other influence than that of truth and character; preaching only the baptism of repentance, and not admitted, nor able to admit to that higher baptism of the Holy Spirit, by the gift of which so many were confirmed in their more miraculous conversion; not working miracles, nor pretending to them, John the Baptist nevertheless attracted into the wilderness not only great multitudes of the common sort, but, the last sign of great notoriety, if not of universal influence, the Pharisees also and Sadducees.

“Then went out to him Jerusalem, and all Judæa, and all the region round about Jordan,” &c. (Matth. iii. 5. 7,) and accordingly we find, that the number of those who believed in the divine mission of John was so great, that the hierarchy of the Jews did not venture to give an answer which would have conveyed their disbelief in his authority, and consented, rather than run that risk, to the dishonourable alternative of confessing ignorance. “But if we shall say, of men; we fear the people; for *all* hold John as a prophet;”* and St. Luke, “But if we say, of men; all the people will stone us: for they be persuaded that John was a prophet.”† This piece of casuistry, while it betrays the disbelief, at heart, of the higher‡ orders of the Jewish congregation, shows abundantly the universal reception of St. John’s doctrine among the people at large: and that adulterous and murderous king also, who affected to give an ear to John’s preaching on other points, when he, than whom a greater had not been born of woman, plainly told him of his unlawful marriage, was deterred from putting him immediately to death, inasmuch he “*feared the multitude, because they counted him as a prophet.*” When we compare this reception of John the Baptist with the prediction of his coming, and of the effect of his coming; and in the next place set the rejection of our Lord, by the nation at large, by the side of the prophecies which declared that he should be rejected, we must be doubly struck by the two-fold coincidence.

To return to Mr. Keith. The next subject he discusses, is the destruction of Jerusalem. And here we have an example of the great difficulty there is in attempting to compress the

* Matth. xxi. 26. † Ibid. xx. 6. ‡ See Matth. xxi. 32. Luke, vii. 29, 30.

accounts of the different evangelists, and to consolidate them into one. Mr. Keith has done this with very sufficient accuracy, and for an elementary work it may be enough that the different statements of the same conversation should be set forth in this way, but it necessarily ties down the reader to one view of the subject, to one interpretation of particular passages; or leaves him to rectify it, as he may, by reference to the originals. The mind becomes perplexed on finding that what it peruses does not occur in any *one* of the evangelists, but is a *cento* from *three* of them; and even the very avoidance of those difficulties, which occur in chapter xxiv. of St. Matthew, arising from the double question, "When shall these things be?—and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?" is of doubtful utility, as the difficulty naturally demands a close examination of the whole passage, which would produce an intelligible statement of it. The objection, however, does not lie against Mr. Keith's management of his plan, but is an imperfection inherent in the plan itself.* It is gratifying to find that in his review of the prophecies relating to the present state of Palestine and the adjoining countries, he derives his information respecting them principally from the unbelieving Volney; or from other travellers, who thought more of perfecting themselves, as Mahomedans, than of elucidating the Christian Scriptures. The present state of the territory of Moab, Ammon and Edom, is a noble commentary on the old prophets, and in this part of his work Mr. Keith has collected a great deal of matter which is not only most apposite, but, in a great measure, new. That these countries are now waste and deserted nobody doubts, but many require to be told that they once were populous, as evinced by the remains of considerable cities, and once must have been as wealthy and flourishing as they are now miserable, to judge from the temples which may still be traced, and the tombs which are still perfect, being founded in the rock after the custom of the East. The very animals to which one district (Idumea), was devoted by the prediction of Isaiah, are those which now most abundantly tenant it; and the declaration that "*none should pass through it*," has been made good by the impracticable character, and Arab propensities, of its present inhabitants. But under this head, we humbly opine that Mr. Keith goes a little further than he need, when, in a note, (p. 189,) he wishes, (or seems to wish), to prove that the accomplishment of the prophecy is literal to a degree almost

* We have not been able to find, among the predictions of the destruction of Jerusalem, any reference to Daniel ix. 26-27, though our Lord calls the attention of his disciples to it very pointedly; Matth. xxiv. 15. It is possible Mr. Keith may have noticed it, though we have failed to see his observation.

unexampled. Not only do the Hadji routes, from Cairo to Damascus, avoid Idumea, (which by the way they might do without any great sacrifice of expedition), not only has it been recorded as the most difficult country of access in the East, inspiring Mr. Volney, according to his own account, for the first time in his life, with the sentiment of fear; but (continues Mr. Keith), “not even the cases of the two individuals, Seitzen and Burckhardt, can be stated as at all opposed to the literal interpretation of the prophecies. Seitzen did indeed pass through Idumea, and Burckhardt traversed a considerable part of it. But the former met his death not long after the completion of his journey through Idumea; the latter never recovered from the effects of the hardships and privations which he suffered, &c. Neither of them lived to return to Europe. *I will cut off from Mount Seir him that passeth out, and him that returneth.*” It is not fair to press to this extreme degree of literal interpretation one part of the prophecy, and at the same time to allow others to pass unnoticed. What is the literal interpretation of, “*And the streams thereof shall be turned into pitch, and the dust thereof into brimstone, and the land thereof shall become burning pitch: It shall not be quenched night nor day; the smoke thereof shall go up for ever:*” which is in immediate contact with the prediction in question? But Mr. Keith has answered himself, for, continuing the same note, he says, “Strabo mentions that there was a direct road from Petra (the capital of Idumea,) to Jericho, of three or four days journey. *Captains Irby and Mangles were eighteen days in reaching it (Petra) from Jerusalem.*” Now Captains Irby and Mangles lived to return to England, and to print an account of their travels, for a copy of which Mr. Keith thanks them in his preface, and at p. 197, we find Mr. Keith again saying, “Captains Irby and Mangles, having, together with Mr. Banks and Mr. Legh, spent two days in diligently examining them, give a more particular detail of the ruins of Petra, than Burckhardt’s account supplied,” &c., and yet both Mr. Banks and Mr. Legh returned to Europe, and did not even die “soon after their return.” Unless our faculties are blunted by the southern atmosphere we breathe, it does seem to us a marvellous oversight thus to indite a note, the termination of which, scorpion-like, stings to the quick its commencement. One word more on the ruins of this Idumean Petra. Illustrations and engravings are excellent things, and wood-cuts and plans are no less commendable on all proper occasions, and often highly necessary to illustrate works on scriptural as well as profane subjects; but the wood-cut representations of the Necropolis of Petra, and the plan of its ruins, are more useful in the

* Isaiah, xxxiv. 9, 10.

place from which they have been adopted, than in our author's little volume, and disappoint the inquisitive eye, which retains so much of the school-boy as always to run after the appearance of a plate, by seeming to promise some great discovery, and ending in a design of some very ordinary rock-tombs. While we are advancing criticisms professedly trifling, will Mr. Keith pardon us for making one more, descending to so slight a matter as *language*? He wishes to prove, probably with reason on his side, that Ekron (a city of the Philistines), has been literally "rooted up" according to the prophecy, and urges that it cannot be identified with any existing remains, admitting that it has been put down in a map, (alas! if maps were arguments, how flourishing would be the condition of many a depopulated country!) but concluding on the whole, that "while Ashkelon and Ashdod retain their names in their ruins, the very name of Ekron is *amissing*." We know that it pleases our brethren of the North thus to write occasionally; and in some most delightful travels in Germany, this sweet Doricism occurs more than *occasionally*, but surely *that* instead of being a reason why we should swallow the awkward compound with complacency, calls upon us to protest in time against these unnecessary decorations, which may be in-spectable in Milton's poetry, but are unseemly in modern prose.

Nineveh and Babylon come within the compass of our author's plan, because, though their destruction took place so long ago, the effects of it in their present desolation are perpetuated. "The records of the human race, it has been said with truth, do not present a contrast more striking than that between the primeval magnificence of Babylon and its long desolation."* Nor could a more exact and particular fulfilment of a prophecy have been conceived, nor a more signal example chosen, nor a greater distance between the time of the prediction and of its fulfilment desired. Babylon was doomed to be the habitation of the beasts of the desert, an abode for none but doleful creatures, when her enormous and incredible extent was full of a population rioting on the riches of the most fertile district of the old world, unthinned as yet by the arrows of the Median, undiminished by the loss of a court or the decay of commerce and empire. Yet this more than London of the old world, with a population which commentators are afraid to calculate, and an extent which they hardly dare to set down, is foredoomed to a perpetual annihilation by two Jewish prophets, at different periods, ages before that desolation ever began to be accomplished, with a minuteness of description which call for, and can bear, the most exact inquiry. Yet how tardy must the course of events

* P. 255.

have appeared to such as waited for them, while Babylon, even after its conquest and temporary overthrow, continued still to be enormously vast, and populous, and wealthy, exciting the astonishment of the historians who visited, and the poets who allude to it! Manifestly these things do not come to pass “with observation;” but in their proper times and by fitting means all that remains to be accomplished will be brought to pass, though we may well say with the conscience-stricken prophet, “Alas, who shall live when God doeth this!”

The passages which Mr. Keith has cited from modern travellers, on the subject of Babylon (among others from Mr. Keppel, whose description is much the best) are abundant and well chosen.

On the still more present instance of Egypt, we will subjoin the author’s own words, as a fair example of his matter and his manner:—

“Egypt was the theme of many prophecies, which were fulfilled in ancient times; and it bears to the present day, as it has borne throughout many ages, every mark with which prophecy had stamped its destiny:—

“ ‘They shall be a base kingdom. It shall be the basest of kingdoms. Neither shall it exalt itself any more among the nations: for I will diminish them that they shall no more rule over the nations. The pride of her power shall come down. And they shall be desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate, and her cities shall be in the midst of the cities that are wasted. I will make the land of Egypt desolate, and the country shall be desolate of that whereof it was full. I will sell the land into the hands of the wicked. I will make the land waste and all that is therein, by the hand of strangers. I the Lord have spoken it. And there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt. The sceptre of Egypt shall depart away.’ ”*

“Egypt became entirely subject to the Persians about 350 years previous to the Christian era. It was afterwards subdued by the Macedonians, and was governed by the Ptolemies for the space of 294 years; until, about thirty years before Christ, it became a province of the Roman empire. It continued long in subjection to the Romans, tributary first to Rome, and afterwards to Constantinople. It was transferred A.D. 641, to the dominion of the Saracens. In 1250 the Mamelukes deposed their rulers, and usurped the command of Egypt. A mode of government, the most singular and surprising that ever existed upon earth, was established and maintained. Each successive ruler was raised to supreme authority, from being a stranger and a slave. No son of the former ruler—no native of Egypt succeeded to the sovereignty; but a chief was chosen from among a new race of imported slaves. When Egypt became tributary to the Turks in 1517, the Mamelukes retained much of their power, and every pasha was an oppressor and a

* Ezek. xxx. 6, 7, 12, 13; xxxii. 15. Zech. x. 11.

stranger. During all these ages, every attempt to emancipate the country, or to create a prince of the land of Egypt, has proved abortive, and has often been fatal to the aspirant.”—pp. 263, 264.

So far Mr. Keith, who adds other particulars descriptive of the state of Egypt a little time back from those two most unexceptionable witnesses, Volney and Gibbon; who probably little dreamed that they should ever be quoted by a Scottish clergyman, to prove the fulfilment of Jewish prophecies. With regard to Volney, Mr. Keith justly remarks, in conclusion, “can any purposed deception be more glaring or great, than to overlook all these prophecies, and to raise an argument against the truth of Christianity from the very facts by which they have been fulfilled?”

With respect to the prophecies which have been usually considered (among Protestants,) to denote the rise of the Popish power, and its Anti-Christian character, Mr. Keith is, for a minister of the Kirk, very moderate in his statements; and, in the following chapter, he has offered a new illustration of a passage of Daniel, which has by common consent been applied to the rise of the power of the Turks. “He shall enter also into the goodly land, and many countries shall be overthrown: but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.” (Dan. xi. 41.) It being presupposed that by “the king of the North” is personified the Turkish Porte, it certainly agrees very well with this hypothesis, that, according to the testimony of all travellers, the districts once inhabited by those pagan tribes are now overrun by Bedouins, who owe little or no subscription to the Turkish dynasty. But Mr. Keith carries the application still farther, and refers us to a variety of respectable modern travellers, to prove that the fertile land once occupied by the children of Ammon, though holding out so tempting a spoil, is only partially subject to the neighbouring Pacha of Damascus, and in this Mr. Keith sees a fulfilment of the limitation of “*the chief* of the children of Ammon.” It may be so, though we doubt whether this is not carrying a literal interpretation too far; the general remark on the immunity of the adjacent districts from Turkish subjugation, at all events deserves attention, especially as confirmed in a more pointed manner by Mr. Keith than by preceding writers.

From what we have already said, it must be apparent that Mr. Keith’s work contains a great deal which may be highly useful either as reminding or instructing its readers. His conclusions are stated with simplicity, and no ways overcharged in the expression; though possibly they are sometimes expressed a

little too *diffusely*. It is very likely, however, that to many readers a little reiteration may not be either unprofitable or disagreeable; and practically we have observed those orators to be without fail the most popular, who deal the most largely in this convenient figure.

We believe that many grown professors of Christianity, who have never been suspected, nor suspected themselves, of an insufficient or insecure state of religious knowledge, would derive not only great instruction, but great moral and spiritual benefit also, from the perusal of works like the present. The generality of Christians, in a country by long prescription Christian, are under the temptation of taking for granted all the truths and all the history of religion; and not only that, but taking it for granted also that they are acquainted with them. It is really marvellous to what an extent the ignorance of well-educated youth is sometimes found to stretch and extend itself, in those matters which, in the Sunday-school of their village or estates, are learned by rote by the poorer classes under their patronage. Nay, we are not quite sure that the parents of these well-educated young gentlemen are always much better informed in the same particulars, only there is no ordeal for full-grown Christians by which their ignorance can be elicited. Now it really does appear to us, that the practical influence of Christianity must, (humanly speaking,) be proportionate, in each individual, to the sincerity with which he embraces it, the singleness of mind with which he apprehends it, and the attention he devotes to it. To grow up a Christian without knowing how or why, is to grow up as the cabbages do in our gardens; while, on the other hand, the immediate effect of an actual attention to the grounds of our belief—a conviction, arising from whatever source, not hereditary but personal, can hardly fail to be accompanied by increased sobriety of mind and vigilance of conduct. It is very true that the fountain-head of such conviction must be sought in the Scriptures themselves; but many may have their attention directed to these, or obstructed, according as they fall in with well or ill-written books of argument in the course of their miscellaneous reading. On that department of proof which we have been considering through the last few pages, the authors usually to be met are apt to be either like Dogberry, such learned persons that there is no understanding them, or, without the ballast of too much learning, they soar out of all possibility for mere mortal eyes to follow them, borne in some flimsy modern machine, full of vapour and at the mercy of every wind that blows. On these accounts such works as that with which Mr. Keith has

obliged the church, plain, intelligible, and full of matter, are of real and extensive utility.

As far as the argument from prophecy is concerned, it is obvious that we possess, at the present day, some advantages over those who might appear most favoured—the witnesses of the first Christian miracles. Καὶ ἔχομεν βεβαιότερον τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον: “And we have had confirmed to us the prophetic announcement,” (as the passage appears to mean, in spite of all that Sherlock has advanced to support the English version,) confirmed by many concurring instances, and long experience. Under this head it appears to us that more stress might have been laid on certain parables of our Lord, which, though extremely simple and concise, are deficient in none of the requirements of indisputable prophecy. Their brevity and their simplicity make them more especially fit to be produced as popular arguments. The parable of the sower has been instanced in this respect as prophetic of the state of belief and practice in the church at large through succeeding ages,* in like manner the vast increase and extension of the church is typified in others, and in that brief illustration of the effect of his approaching death, which compares the dissemination thereby of his doctrines, to the multiplication of a single seed by inhumation.† Of this kind are the many parables which intimate, and some of them more than intimate, the admission of the Gentiles‡ into the same privileges with the Jews, and the final exclusion of the latter from the visible church; in the typical prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, the more remarkable because occurring by way of parenthesis in the course of a parable not directly or necessarily leading to the mention of it, (Luke xix. 27,) and perfectly understood and deprecated by those who heard, Luke xx. 16; add to this the brief declaration in St. John iv. 21, which denotes at the least the annihilation of a ceremonial and local worship, (a thing marvellous for a Jew to declare, or a Samaritan to hear,) the direct prophecies of the persecution his disciples should undergo, *signifying even by what death some of them should glorify God*. All these are the more valuable because many of them are indirect, (the prophecy contained is subordinate to some other object,) all of them are clear, and not capable of being misunderstood. In many the homeliness of the illustration was obviously sought and designed out of compassion to the meanness of the understandings, or the habits of life, of those who were listening, but that

* The parable of the Tares, alas! might be equally well applied.

† John, xii. 24.

‡ Compare with the more lengthened parables on this topic, John x. 16.

very homeliness gives a force and solidity to the promise as addressed to us. Such is the comparison of the word of the kingdom of heaven to leaven, which is “to leaven *the whole lump* ;” while the unaffected grandeur of other illustrations is the natural expression of the great future event present to the divine mind which foretells it, and reflecting the awful truth in its own glorious colours. “For, as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.” Is it presumptuous to say that this grand image gives an unsought evidence to the truth of the event predicted? In other instances the simplicity of the illustration has lost something, as addressed to ourselves, except we take the trouble, (and it is never an unprofitable one,) of attending to the context. For example, the multitude of Christians at large, as gathered together at the day of judgment, are compared to fish drawn together by a net, and afterwards separated, the good from the bad: a parable which gives as clear and plain a picture as words could convey, but which was more immediately appropriate when addressed to the fishermen of Galilee, near the place of their habitual occupation. “Jesus saith unto them, (immediately after this parable, the last of many he put forth at the same time,) Have ye understood all these things? They say unto him, Yea, Lord.”* We must remember that these same disciples had failed to understand the parables of the sower and the tares, after which the parable referred to, and others of the same kind, were added. But the most important, beyond comparison, of the prophetic parables are those which bear upon our Lord’s own future rejection, sufferings, and death: for instance, the type he refers to, of the elevation of the serpent;—the parable of the bridegroom who was to be taken away from his companions;—the charge to all that heard him, that if they would be his disciples, indeed, they should take up their cross, and so follow him, long before any probability appeared that he would die a violent death, or that such could be the manner of his death;—the intimation, very concisely given, that he should suffer in a particular place, (*And they caught him and cast him out of the vineyard, and slew him*, Matth. xxi. 39,) both this and the charge to bear the cross were well understood by the author to the Hebrews: “Let us go forth, therefore unto him *without the camp, bearing his reproach*,” ch. xiii. 13. To these must be added the most express declarations of what he was to suffer, and the end for which that suffering was designed, made clearer and clearer, from obscure, but to us, intelligible intimations of the same, and addressed first to his more immediate disciples, and gradually extended to greater numbers,

* Matth. xiii. 51.

preparing the minds of those who followed him, and exulted in the vain hope of his temporal dignity, for a ruin of those worldly expectations for which they were little prepared, and seeking to instruct them in the elements of that better hope of everlasting redemption of which they had no imagination. This great system of preparation, for the end for which our Lord came into the world, is attested by all the evangelists in a multitude of passages of every possible description, direct and indirect, corresponding with, and remote from, each other; with this all the actions of our Lord's life are in harmony, and by reference to this alone can many of them be completely accounted for: it runs through the texture of all the four narratives, and is preserved in all as completely as undesignedly; containing in itself the evidence of prophecy fulfilled, combined with the witness by suffering of One who could not have been influenced by example, or by enthusiasm. No fact, but that furnished by pagan authorities, the death of Jesus Christ, is necessary to this proof; nor is it necessary first to prove the authenticity of the New Testament, or the validity of the Old. By this our Lord's own declaration is made good, (and He appears Himself to have designed it)—*Now I tell you before, that, when it is come to pass, ye may believe that I am he.* John xiii. 19.* Our Lord is here his own sufficient testimony, both in prophecying and suffering; but this great and popular argument, which has not, we believe, ever been developed, we have not now space to develope here.

ART. IX.—*Death-Bed Scenes, and Pastoral Conversations.* By the late John Warton, D. D. Edited by his Sons. Vol. III. London. Murray. 1828. 8vo. pp. 541. 12s.

GREAT was our admiration of the former volumes of this work, and we opened the one now before us with some feelings of alarm. We feared that the writer might have exhausted the best of his materials, and that the great interest excited by the preceding part of his work would subside before this large volume was finished. But our fears were unnecessary: each succeeding page contributed to remove them; and we can safely recommend our readers to peruse the scenes here described, with an assurance that they are in no respect inferior to those which have been already submitted to the public. In endeavouring to make extracts we scarcely know where to begin, and having begun, it is difficult to conclude. We must be content to open the volume at random, and taking here and there a passage, leave it to our

* See also John xiv. 29; and the context in both places.

readers to observe, upon perusing the whole, "that a far better selection *might* have been made." The common arguments and explanations with which Dr. Warton endeavours to overcome the hardened unbelief of Marsden, are succeeded by a new and very powerful piece of reasoning.

"To escape me the wretched man flew to Atheism, and resumed a portion of his former atrocious impiety. 'For what I know,' he cried, 'this may be all a bug-bear to terrify us; how can I ascertain that there is any such Being as God? I know no such thing; nor do I know how to set about to find it out.' What am I to do now? I thought with myself. Must I go through the arguments for the existence of a God with this dying sinner, who should be invoking the aid of a Saviour with prayers, and tears, and groans? It is impossible; it is useless if it were possible; and Scripture he will disclaim altogether. I will take another course; so I said, 'You suppose then, perhaps, Sir, that, if there were no God, there would be no world, nothing, after this; neither pleasures nor pain. But I must tell you, (and I am sure you cannot prove the contrary) that, whether there be a God or not, there may still be another world, and another life for all of us.' 'How so, Dr. Warton?' he inquired eagerly. 'Why,' I said, 'the same fate, or chance, which brought us here, might just as well bring us to exist again hereafter; and there would be nothing more wonderful in it. If God do not cause and direct everything, then it must be fate, or chance, which does it; and you see every day what surprising things happen with respect to other animals and vegetables; quite as surprising as if a man were to return to life. But do you know what I mean by fate, and chance?' 'Not very well,' he answered. 'Then I will tell you,' I said, 'in a very few words, which will be enough, perhaps, for our present business. Chance, indeed, you probably *do* understand sufficiently already; but then if you do, you will never admit it, I am sure, as causing and directing all that you observe in the world; and so chance must be given up altogether. Is not chance, or what you mean by it, something very irregular, and uncertain, and often contrary to your expectations?' He allowed it. 'But *that* is by no means the course of things even here,' I said; 'the sun, for instance, and the moon, which are of so great use to us, are any of their great laws at all irregular, or uncertain? Do they ever rise or set at unexpected hours? In short, do we not know long before all about them from our almanacs? A cloud, indeed, may come between the sun and *us*, and keep off some of his light and heat from us; and you might at first think *that* to be a mere matter of chance; but do you really suppose that a single cloud ever floats in the air without a cause of its being *there*?' 'No, to be sure, I don't,' he answered. 'Well then,' I said, 'it seems that we shall get rid of chance, as I mentioned before, altogether; for nothing happens without a cause. In truth chance is only a name for our own ignorance; we do not know what causes are at work to produce this or that effect, and so we say foolishly that such things happen by chance; but now you perceive it is not so, in natural things at least. And how is it in the affairs of men? Just the same. There is a vast

deal which takes place with as much regularity, and certainty, and as agreeably to our expectations, as in natural things; but on the other hand, there is a vast deal also which looks like mere random chance. A tradesman who understands his business, and never neglects it, and is honest in his dealings, and spends nothing viciously or unnecessarily, being both sober and frugal, will prosper, and flourish, and get rich; *that* is the great law of human affairs, like the rising and setting of the sun. But now and then comes a cloud; his house and all his goods are destroyed on the sudden by fire; he is plundered by thieves, or by an invading army. Not that these things really happen by chance; but only that he knows nothing about them beforehand, and so calls them unlucky chances; they have their certain causes just like other things, but he is ignorant of them. However, be it as it may, what do I infer from all this? Why, that under whatever ruling influence we live, give it any name that you please, it is so regular, so certain, so conformable to our expectations, nothing could be more likely than it should still follow us after we die, and reproduce us in another state, as it does thousands of other things; provided only, that there be some purpose which has not been accomplished, and could not well be accomplished, in the present state. And any reflecting person *must* see that this is precisely the case with men—the purpose evidently is, to reward and to punish them according to their actions in this world; but the execution of the purpose being only begun, and not completed here, we have good reason to believe that it will be completed hereafter. The tradesman whom I described, was suddenly deprived of his natural reward in this world, by causes over which he had no control; but the irregularity may be, and most probably therefore will be, corrected in the next. On the contrary, the tradesman who is idle, and drunken, and a spendthrift, is reduced to poverty, and afflicted with disease besides; *that* is his natural punishment here; but he gains a large prize in the Lottery, suppose, and his poverty at least is at an end, and with it a part of his punishment; the full punishment therefore may be, and most likely will be, paid him hereafter. You cannot give a reasonable account of human affairs in any other way than this; if there were not a future state for us all, there would be a beginning, and no ending of anything; or rather there would be a wise beginning, and a very unaccountable and unsatisfactory ending. I conclude, therefore, Mr. Marsden, whoever, or whatever, it may be that directs everything, being so wise as we see it to be, and yet not complete, on account of the vast variety of circumstances entangled with each other in this world, it will pursue us into another world; and, consequently, there is no use, and no real comfort to any man, in the supposition that there is no God. It is merely doing away with a name. This that I have now explained to you, which rules nature with such regularity, and begins to reward and punish men in this life, and which you cannot by any means get rid of, is the very God with whom we have to do now, and shall have to do hereafter.

“Here I stopped to consider where I was; and I must own that all which I had just said, now that I think coolly about it, may reasonably appear to any of my readers to be exceedingly flat and dry, and even

totally unadapted to the awful case before me. If so, my brethren of the clergy, who are thrown into the same trying circumstances, must guard against my errors, and devise some more auspicious proceeding. But at all events they will perceive how I was led on to this mode of argument; and I can assure them, that although it produced no ultimate good effect that I am aware of, it was listened to by this poor man with more attention than almost anything else, and seemed to open to his view what he had never dreamt of, or reflected upon, in his whole life before."—pp. 92—97.

We now turn to the history of Jacob Brockburn, which (together with the episodes most aptly introduced) abound with interest; and each succeeding scene increases our respect for the writer. We feel persuaded that it will fix attention by the interest it excites, and produce great effect upon the mind by the lessons which it inculcates. The first description of the village where murder had been perpetrated seems to place us on the very spot.

"Having arrived at the place, there seemed to be an uncommon stillness and desolation about it. We walked almost round the whole cluster; not a door was open, not a human creature visible, not a sound heard. Yet it was nearly the hour of dinner, when I might reasonably have expected to find the entire population, of every age and sex, assembling together. 'Have these people fled with one consent from this scene of blood?' I thought with myself. 'Or are they all shut up within their dwellings, ashamed and afraid to look upon each other, occupied in silent reflection upon the warning which God has given them?'"—p. 117.

The accounts given to the rector by some of the neighbours, respecting the circumstances of the murder, are so naturally expressed, that we conceive they must be recorded almost in the words of the relaters. In this and the subsequent conversations each circumstance is laid hold of in order to reach the feelings and situations of the different hearers, and before the conclusion of the history, we are gratified to find that good effects have been in some instances produced by these appropriate admonitions.

It is painful to reflect that such scenes as are described, may be witnessed wherever the inhabitants of this country are collected together in considerable numbers, and that the utmost degree of ministerial faithfulness is able to effect but little for the spiritual improvement of the people. Something, however, as in the case before us, may always be done. There needs not a murder to make an opening for the patient visitation of each cottage, for unwearying attention to the souls as well as the bodies of the poor.

We extract a few passages of peculiar interest.

" 'I do not know whether you have sufficiently considered what it is which makes your calamity so grievous; but it is fit that you should be fully aware of the utmost extent of it. There is no solid comfort to be

derived from an endeavour to soften it down to your own thoughts ; and if I were to take that course with you, I should ill discharge my office ; I should deceive you in a most culpable manner, and your comfort, being a false one, might be your ruin. No, you must look your calamity steadily in the face, and then apply to God, as the correct view of it may teach you and urge you to do. If you were the murderer of your wife I do not want you to tell me so ; I only want you to settle that matter, impartially, between God and your own conscience ; so that it may not appear hereafter, to your everlasting confusion, when *He* comes to try you, that you have reckoned erroneously, and deceived even yourself. Nor, on the other hand, will it avail you at all with respect to this particular point which I so much wish to impress upon you, it will not avail you to plead that her death was not intended by you, but only her correction ; I mean, that you cannot get rid of the fact, that, in consequence of your treatment of her, she went hastily and too much unprepared before her Judge ; nay, in an actual immediate state of sin, which would cause even the most indifferent person who reflected upon it to tremble for her ultimate and eternal lot. You, who knew all her habits too well, cannot possibly be ignorant what a tremendous reckoning she is gone from this world, suddenly and unexpectedly, to make in the other world, and therefore also what a tremendous result, it may reasonably be feared, will follow such a reckoning ; and then the certainty comes home to your own bosom, that it was *you* who deprived her of the means and opportunities which she might otherwise have had, before she died in the course of nature, to return from Satan to God. I do not say that you may not be acquitted and forgiven for this at the heavenly bar, as you have been at the earthly, if you take the proper steps to procure forgiveness ; but I *do* say, that you will with great difficulty forgive yourself if you feel your situation as you ought. Will you not ask yourself continually, where is her soul now ? Will not the fearful thought mix itself with all your affairs that her soul may be entered into eternal misery ? And will you not then be harrowed up with remorse, when you think again, as you must always do, that it was *you* who sent her there ? If you ever suffer yourself to try to taste any pleasure, will it not be embittered by this constant care ? Will it not become worse than gall and wormwood to you ? Will you not condemn yourself for the very idea of pursuing any pleasure, and say, I have flung *her* from everlasting pleasures into everlasting woe ! In your daily labours too, when you are earning your bread by the sweat of your brow, will not the same reflection make all the instruments of your work feel heavier in your hands, and your work itself harder and more toilsome ? Heretofore your industry was supported and cheered by many consolations and many hopes ; what will support it, what will cheer it now ? But at length comes the end of all in this world, death ; and then the judgment in the next. But whom will you see standing with you, and waiting for the sentence, at the same bar ? Even *her*, your own wife, whom your own hand slew ! And will you not be agonized with the sight of her, and still more with her voice, when she opens her mouth, at the command of the terrible Judge, to speak the very truth, and therefore to accuse and condemn you ?” — pp. 309—311.

Again.

"I had threatened to pierce him once more to his heart, and my threat was now executed. No aspen-leaf ever trembled so much as this man, though shaken by the rudest breeze; and his agitation was the greater, because he was eager to speak, and could not. I hastened to give him my last advice. 'Oh! Brockbourn,' I said, 'for the remnant of your days resist with all your might the first rising of passion in your breast! Let it be the constant subject of your prayers to God, that you may be able, henceforth, to curb and restrain it! You have felt how wild, how impetuous, how furious and uncontrollable the storm is when you have once suffered it to gather strength within, and to burst abroad. The whirlwind might as soon be stopped, and ruled. It beats down before it all the barriers of nature, of reason, and of religion. This it did in *your* case, Brockbourn; aye, it conquered and subdued, in your case, even the terror of a shameful death, of a halter, and a gibbet; for when your flight was cut off, you exclaimed to your pursuers, 'I have made up my mind to die for her;' and you added wicked, opprobrious expressions against her, which proved, that all the night, even in your lurking-place, you had been brooding over your cruel deed with an unnatural malice, and that the same malice was still rankling in your heart.'"—pp. 339, 340.

Enviably indeed must be the feelings of an individual who can toil through scenes like those which are here so admirably described; nor can we conceive a more blessed sensation than he must have experienced at the termination of his last conversation, and the effect he had produced upon the wretched and now truly penitent culprit.

"In an instant, and before I had thought of looking for a prayer-book, he was down upon his knees, with every token of humility, devotion, and penitence. I was deeply struck; and I paused for a while, beholding this striking spectacle with awe and with gratitude; then I prayed silently that God would both teach him how to pray, and also bless his prayer. After which, almost involuntarily, and without knowing it, (so quickly and so forcibly did that beautiful and divine parable present itself to my thoughts,) I began thus: 'Two men went up to the temple to pray, the one a Pharisee, the other a Publican;' and whilst I stood over him I repeated it by recollection to the end. When this was done I knelt down myself by the side of him, with a prayer-book in my hand, and read the commination-psalm, omitting the fourth verse as well as the two last; but the verse in which the penitent, dejected monarch supplicates to be delivered from blood-guiltiness, a verse which I never used on other occasions, I used now with a solemn emphatic fervency. I heard Jacob Brockbourn's sobs; his face was hid with his hands. I next read the second commination-prayer, with such alterations as made it a personal prayer of mine for *him*. The benediction at the end of that service concluded my performances and intentions.

"He rose soon after me, and, without giving him time to speak, I beckoned to him with my finger, and being desirous not to expose him

to the curiosity and the gaze of the servants, I dismissed him myself through the front door."—pp. 351, 352.

In the third chapter, entitled "The Eucharist," the arguments brought forward by the sick man and his wife against receiving the sacrament, are completely and distinctly answered. Besides those so commonly used, we find several suggested by these unfortunate people, with an acuteness that could not be turned aside without a thorough knowledge, not alone of the subject, but of the feelings of human nature, and the workings of the human mind. Dr. Warton readily applies the every-day occurrences of life to his purpose, in answering the objections raised by this worldly-minded woman.

" 'Yes, Sir,' she replied, 'that is very true; and I see plainly enough that his disciples were bound, as long as they lived, to keep up the memory of him in this manner; but I do not see that all people are commanded to do it.' 'Why,' I said, 'the reason of the thing extends to us all alike. Upon giving them the bread, he told them that it was his body which was broken for them; and upon giving them the cup, he said, drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for *you* and for many, for the remission of sins. Now here you are informed, that his blood was shed for many others besides the disciples; and what do you think of his body? Do you think that it was broken on the cross for the disciples alone?' 'No, indeed,' she answered. 'I am not so ignorant.' 'Very well then,' I said; 'you will probably allow, upon second thoughts, that at least all those who are to profit by his death, and obtain the forgiveness of their sins in consequence of it, are bound by the command to keep up for ever that sort of memorial of him.' 'It looks like it, indeed,' she replied. 'Certainly, it does,' I said; 'and it appears to *me* also, that they who do not keep up this memorial of his death, virtually abandon, of their own accord, all right and title to the forgiveness of sins which his death was intended to procure.' 'That would be a very serious matter, indeed,' she answered doubtfully. 'Well but,' I said, 'this at least stands to reason, does it not, that they who will not preserve the appointed remembrance of a person, or thing, will come afterwards with a very bad grace to ask for some great benefit, which is only to be had by that person, or thing, and which is the very cause of appointing the remembrance to be preserved?'

"Here she seemed to be somewhat shaken, and did not attempt to speak; so I continued. 'In point of fact Jesus Christ died for the whole world; all mankind therefore are equally interested in his death; they stand equally in need of it; and therefore they are equally bound to keep up that memorial of it which he himself appointed; and consequently the command is addressed to us all, when he said, upon presenting the cup, do this as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of *me*. This is proved too by the practice of the first Christians. Give me your Bible, and I will show you what that practice was.' There was no Bible, as there should have been, in the sick room; but she was not without one in the house, and after a short delay she brought it to me. I

then pointed out to her the several passages which speak of their breaking bread from house to house, and of their continuing steadfastly in the doctrine and fellowship of the Apostles, and in breaking of bread, and in prayer: From the 2d chapter of the Acts of the Apostles I turned to the 11th of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, where that Apostle gives directions about this sacrament, and finds fault with an improper administration of it; but I read only as much as was sufficient to establish the fact, that wherever the Christian religion was settled, the ceremony of the Lord's Supper was ordained also, and enjoined upon all Christians alike. Afterwards, however, I dwelt a little upon the circumstances of St. Paul, to show her the importance of the ceremony, as well as the certainty that it was intended to be universally adopted. 'St. Paul,' I said, 'was not present when our blessed Lord instituted the holy rite; nor did he first learn anything about it from those who were. It was made known to him by our Lord himself. His expressions to the Corinthians are these: "I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto *you*; that the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread," and that he spoke such and such words, and did such and such things. Now then I ask you, Mrs. Turner, what was the use of Christ's appearing miraculously to St. Paul, to tell him all the history of the first institution of the Sacrament, if it were not to be established everywhere, and were not besides a matter of general importance to us all? That the Apostle so understood it is plain by his conduct.'

"Mrs. Turner was silent for some time, and seemed to be quite unable to controvert my position; but at length recurring in her thoughts to what I had said about the eighth commandment, she answered, that notwithstanding all this, she could never bring herself to suppose that we were under the same obligation to take the Sacrament, as we were to keep our hands from picking and stealing. 'For you know, Sir,' she added, 'we could not go on at all if we were to rob one another every day as we pleased; but we may be very good men and women, as far as I can see, without the Sacrament; and the world perhaps would go on just as well without any Sacrament at all.' 'Then do you think,' I said, 'that you are at liberty to make a distinction in the divine commands, and to pick and choose out of them, and obey only those of which you understand the use, and neglect the rest, or at least consider them to be less binding upon you?'

"Here she hesitated; so I continued. 'My opinion is this. Be the command what it may, if it come from God, we have nothing to do but obey. If we understand the use of the command it is very well; but if not, still we must obey, or submit to the consequences; and we may depend upon it that God will punish a wilful disobedience even of the least, or the most unintelligible, of his commands; and the more severely if we should presume to argue that they are useless, or of little consequence. What would you say to your children if they should refuse to obey any command of yours, and tell you that they did not see any use in obeying you in that particular instance?' 'Why,' she exclaimed eagerly, 'I should box their ears well;' and then, suddenly recollecting

herself, she added, 'but I should never order them to do anything useless or unnecessary.' 'Oh! then,' I said, 'you are wiser than God; you never order anything useless or unnecessary, but God does! And so God has no right to punish the neglect of some of *his* commands, but you may punish the neglect of any of *yours*!' This brought the colour into her face; but still she persisted in asserting that she saw no use in the Sacrament, although it might be a divine command. 'Never mind *that*,' I rejoined. 'The right conduct for *us* is to obey, and to leave the use to God; and then, no doubt, he will find some way of making our humility and faithfulness very useful to us, and of rewarding us for those virtues beyond anything that we can now imagine. And do you not think that many things may be useful to you, without your knowing how, and when?' She looked doubtfully; so I asked her if parents did not continually order their children to do things which they knew would be very useful to them, but which the children themselves thought to be only troublesome or painful? She could not deny it. 'So then,' I said, 'the superior understanding may see a use, when the inferior sees none. And is not *our* understanding as far below the understanding of God, as the understanding of a child is below that of the parent?' She supposed it was. 'Well then,' I said, 'if this be so, it would clearly be better for us to consider God as the wisest and best of parents, and ourselves as his children, whom he would train up to goodness and happiness; and in consequence to imitate the humbleness and the docility of children; obeying his will in everything, without contradiction or cavil, and without foolishly presuming that we know more than *he* does of our own wants and necessities. But, after all, am I to be understood, as if I allowed that we could not discover any use in this Sacrament? Far from it. The uses are both many and great. One has been already mentioned, or at least implied—a use which the blessed Author of the Sacrament himself pointed out—the keeping up the remembrance of his death.'—pp. 358—364.

The feeling which influenced both the woman and her husband is thus described.

"In speaking this I had assumed a very grave and solemn tone, as the subject naturally suggested to me. It thrilled the sick man with awe; he trembled exceedingly, and seemed anxious to say something; but his agitation suppressed his voice. Upon this his wife interposed, and assured me, that there was not a single human being against whom he bore any malice, and that he had never been guilty of any sin that she knew of, except one. 'And to be sure, Sir,' she added, '*that* sin has sorely beset him; I cannot deny it. He has been sorry for it every morning, and returned to it every evening. It is likely enough that he may be more sorry for it now than he has ever been before; but still, from past experience, I should fear, that if he were to recover, he would fall into the snare again. If I were quite sure that he was going to die, I would advise him to take the Sacrament.' 'Yes, yes,' said the poor man himself, faltering and scarcely articulate, 'if I were to take it, and afterwards recover, I should never forgive myself, or be at peace any more.'

“ Well, thought I secretly, this is a most extraordinary case ; how am I to understand it ? Has the wretched man absolutely determined in his own mind, if God should spare his life, to return to the very sin which has stirred up the divine anger against him, and put his life in jeopardy ? To explore this matter to the bottom, if possible, I said, ‘ it has not pleased God to bless you with the free use of your speech, but you hear readily and distinctly whatever is spoken by others ; listen, therefore, whilst I talk to your wife, and only stop us when you differ from us. You are afraid, Mrs. Turner, that if your husband recovers, he will relapse into his habits of drinking ; and he seems to have the same fear himself, or rather, to be quite sure of it. Now I ask you, if he recover, not having taken the Sacrament, and relapse into drunkenness, will he be at peace in his own mind, as he appears to insinuate that he shall be ? ’ ‘ No, Sir, ’ she answered, ‘ he does not mean *that*, for he has always been troubled in his conscience about it ; but he means that it will be a more dreadful thing for him to commit the same sin after taking the Sacrament, and that his trouble will be greater than ever. ’ ”—pp. 367, 368.

The effect produced by the Doctor’s patient attendance upon these people, the mercy of God in turning this attendance to their advantage, the gradual declining into their former state, their occasional returns to their Maker in the day of affliction, are all so well described, that we can only hope our readers will lose no time in making, not only this, but the preceding volumes, a part of their family library. In this volume there are parts which the parent will mark as unsuitable to the eye of his daughters, and which we hope to see expunged from the second edition. The work, as a whole, will be found a valuable study for the parochial clergy, few of whom can rise from a perusal of it without having been warmed by the example of our excellent rector.

ART. X.—*A Sermon, preached at the Church and Chapel of St. John, at Hackney, on the two succeeding Sundays, the 28th of December, 1828, and the 4th of January, 1829, on occasion of the Royal Letter in Aid of the Society for repairing, enlarging, and building of Churches.* By the Rev. H. H. Norris, A. M. Perpetual Curate of St. John’s Chapel, Prebendary of St. Paul’s and of Llandaff, and Chaplain to the Earl of Shaftesbury. London. Rivington. 8vo. 1829. pp. 56.

WE cannot agree with Mr. Norris, in saying that “ the true cause of that increase of crime which baffles all the expedients devised to stem its progress, and of that insubordination and licentiousness which is making such a head against lawful authority as to threaten the overwhelming of it altogether,” (preface, p. viii.) is

to be found in the multitude of *licensed*, but *unconsecrated* places for religious worship with which town and country are overrun. Our difference with him, however, is rather verbal than real. For while we attribute the increase of crime not to the existence of dissenting teachers and dissenting chapels, but to the want of church room and clergymen, we concur with our author in thinking that the meeting-house can never be made subservient to the purposes of national reformation; and that no efforts are more unsuccessful, or more mischievous, than those of persons who endeavour to promote the cause of religion, by patronizing or propagating the principles of dissent. The Sermon before us contains a detailed investigation of a part of this subject; the part, namely, which relates to 'Holy Places.' The first portion of the discourse is devoted to an examination of the various commands delivered in the Old Testament, against the desecration of the Name and House of God. The second points out the virtual conformity which exists on this as on all other subjects, between the law of the Old Covenant and of the New.

"But these were still but partial accomplishments of God's benignant purposes with reference to the heathen nations, which could only have their consummation in a general confluence of these outcasts to His sacred dwelling-place, and a general dedication of themselves within its courts to the hallowing of *His holy name*; for it was already upon record, in the writings of the prophets, that 'the mountain of the Lord's house should be established on the top of the mountains, and that all nations should flow into it;' and that it should 'be called the house of prayer for all people;' and it was soon to be annexed to these predictive intimations, that '*in every place* incense and a pure offering should be offered to *His name*.'

"Accordingly, when our Saviour came into the world, and found that portion of the Temple specially prepared for the Gentiles, made, as He strongly expresses it, 'a den of thieves,' by the traffic with which the Jews were profaning it, though He plainly intimated that 'the hour was at hand when no longer at Jerusalem should men worship the Father,' yet He expressed His zeal for His Father's house, and for that court in particular where the Gentiles were to worship Him, by cleansing it, both at the commencement and at the close of His ministry, from these profanations; and, citing the prophecy just produced, declared that it should be verified, for that 'His house should be called the House of Prayer for all nations.' Doubtless, therefore, this fiat of two of the Persons in the Godhead did take effect; and how it took effect our Lord himself proclaimed, when, appealing to the original promise in virtue of which the Temple became the dwelling-place of *God's holy name*, because God had there recorded it, he pronounced that '*where two or three were gathered together in His name*, there was He in the midst of them'—there was the Temple, not in its material substance, that being doomed to desolation, but 'in spirit and in truth'—for that, together

with the kingdom, the house of prayer was transferred over to another chosen people, 'to be taken out of the Gentiles *for His name*,' upon the Jews incurring forfeiture of both; who might, therefore, henceforward, according to Malachi's explanatory prophecy, erect '*in every place*' dwellings *for His name*, where he would record it, not with signs and wonders as in the nonage of the Church, but by His delegated representatives duly authorised 'to bear *that name*,' and to impart with it that *special presence* by which the Temple was so gloriously distinguished, together with the great and inestimable privilege, that 'His eyes would be open, and His ears attend to the prayers which should be made *in that place*.'

"Nor did our Saviour suffer His ministry to terminate without supplying a pattern to direct His followers to the true interpretation of His words; for, by a display of His omniscience, foreshewing how a particular individual would be occupied at a definite future point of time, and of His omnipotence in swaying the will of that individual, He himself selected the first Christian House of Prayer, and recorded *His own name* in it, by that solemn celebration of his which superannuated the Paschal solemnity, and elevated the Paschal grace-cup to a new and higher designation in His Father's kingdom—'to shew forth His own death till He come.' This upper room of early introduction into the houses of the Jews, not for common but for sacred occasions, was not likely now to be diverted from its hallowed appropriation, and that it was not so desecrated, the undoubted tradition of the Christian Church affirms. In it the Apostles were assembled on the evening of the resurrection, and on the succeeding Lord's day, when Jesus, in fulfilment of his promise, 'came and stood in the midst of them.' To it they retired after the ascension, 'to continue with one accord in prayer and supplication,' waiting for that power from on high which, at not many days' distance, they were to receive. Here they were 'with one accord' also when that power, the Holy Ghost, descended; and here, finally, they met daily after the Temple Service, to celebrate the Christian mysteries. As the Gospel spread, the divine precedent established at Jerusalem was copied wherever the converts to the faith were sufficiently numerous to form a congregation, some eminent disciple furnishing the upper-room for the place of solemn assembly. Thus, in the course of the apostolic annals, two other instances occur, at Troas and at Joppa—of upper-rooms appropriated by converts to the Christian faith to the solemnities of their religion; and thus is incidental mention also made in St. Paul's Epistles, of Aquila, in two instances, during his residence, first at Rome, afterwards at Ephesus; of Nymphas at Colosse; and of Philemon at Laodicea; as each having a Church in their respective houses, which, we learn from St. Paul's severe reprehension of the Corinthians—'What, have ye not houses to eat and to drink in, or despise ye the Church of God?'—were considered as invested with the same sanctity that made it an act of sacrilege, in our Lord's account, 'to carry even a vessel through the temple.'

"Thus was the mountain of the Lord's house, in fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy, adapted to the flowing in of all nations. Thus did it 'break

forth on the right hand and on the left, enlarge its place, and stretch forth the curtains of its habitation :’ and thus did the Almighty do what belongs to him towards causing *His name* to be hallowed *in all the earth*: and though divisions were fomented, and parties formed in the apostolic age by Christians addicting themselves to favourite teachers, yet the presumptuous thought of approaching God in a *rival* edifice, unhallowed by the impress of His holy name *authoritatively recorded*, entered not into the hearts of that generation; for St. Paul, whilst he warns the Corinthians that, by their emulations and variances, the effects of Christian communion were actually changed from ‘the better to the worse,’ distinctly testifies that, notwithstanding their dissensions, they did communicate; and that ‘the church was *the one place* to which they came together.’ Nor will it be easy to explain what this Apostle means, when, in speaking of ‘that wicked one whom the Lord will destroy by the brightness of His coming,’ he states ‘the Temple of God’ to be the place where he will perpetrate his last desperate provocations, if, in some sense or other, to his contemplation at least, that sacred edifice was not to be preserved the *one* habitation of God’s holiness to the end of time; and what that sense can be, it will be equally difficult to discover, if we abandon the one to which our Lord’s application of the last cited prophecy naturally leads us, and do not include the Christian Churches dispersed every where to open an access to converts from all nations to the throne of grace, in our interpretation. The veil is indeed removed under the Gospel, that we may with open face behold the glory of God; but this very exception in our favour assumes the point which it has been my endeavour to prove, that the dwelling-place, thus modified, is to remain a permanent institution.”—pp. 18—24.

The arguments which different writers have adduced, to prove that the room in which our Lord celebrated his Last Supper was thenceforward set apart for religious purposes, are summed up and enforced, with much acuteness and learning, in a very valuable Appendix. And if we are not convinced of the certainty of such a fact, we are at least sincerely thankful to Mr. Norris for his able and well-timed exposition of it.

ART. XI.—*The Change of the Sabbath, and the Institution of the Eucharist, illustrated from the Jewish Scriptures, for obviating the Inferences both of Jews and of Roman Catholics: with an Appendix, animadverting on a Tract by William Burgh, A. B.*
By George Miller, D. D. M. R. I. A. London. Rivington.
8vo. 1829. pp. 56.

THE object of this pamphlet may be ascertained from the following passage:

“In the controversy with the Church of Rome, it has been repeatedly urged by Roman Catholics, that the change of the sabbath, from the seventh to the first day of the week, is an instance of the authoritative tradition for which they contend, no injunction prescribing that change

being found in the sacred writings. The inference is clearly invalid, because the change was authorized, though not by an express injunction contained in these writings, yet by occurrences recorded in them, so that it cannot afford any support to a plea for the existence of an authoritative tradition, distinct from them, and independent of their authority. It may, however, be yet more satisfactory to show from the sacred writings, not merely that the change was authorized by certain occurrences, which ought to be considered as sufficient for the determination of our conduct, but that it appears to have been even required for the due accomplishment of the types of the Christian covenant, anciently instituted among the Jews, and also that satisfactory reasons may be assigned, why it should not have been expressly and generally enjoined. By showing that such a change was required for the due accomplishment of the types of the Christian covenant, it will be exhibited as a direct consequence of the original communications of the will of God, and, therefore, as needing only to be presented to our imitation at the proper time by the example and authority of our apostolic teachers. By assigning reasons, why it should not have been expressly and generally enjoined, all the force of the argument, drawn from the absence of such an injunction, is at once destroyed.

“In the controversy also with the Jews the change of the sabbath constitutes a considerable difficulty, for that people cannot easily be persuaded to relinquish for a different practice, the sabbatical observance so particularly inculcated in their own sacred books, and are on this account more unwilling to admit the authority of the Christian scriptures. But, if they could be convinced, that the fulfilment of types recorded in their own scriptures required the change, they might be disposed to acquiesce in it, as a consequence of the religious dispensation of Moses, and thus be disposed to receive that new dispensation of religion, of which it forms a part.

“Independently of these controversial considerations, it must be gratifying to Christians to discover an order and combination in the two successive dispensations, so that no change should appear to have been made in the later, except as resulting from the very nature and principles of that other, by which it had been preceded. The whole course of the divine administration will thus appear to have been consistent and connected, nothing been determined by mere contingency, nothing having been arbitrarily changed. We are led by the order and combination of the material world to contemplate the wisdom and goodness of its Author; and our pious admiration must be yet more directly excited by our observation of a corresponding harmony, as it may be discoverable in the several communications, by which he has revealed to us his will for the regulation of our conduct in this life, and the means of attaining everlasting blessedness in that which is to come.”—pp. 9—11.

Dr. Miller conceives that the sheaf of the first fruits of the harvest, or wave offering, which was to be presented “on the morrow after the sabbath,” which occurred during the week of

the passover (Levit. xxiii. 2.) was a type of the resurrection of the Messiah, and he explains and vindicates this interpretation with more ingenuity than success. His general argument however, on the change of the sabbath, is powerful and satisfactory:

“In the mother-church at Jerusalem, the Jewish sabbath, so long as the Jewish polity subsisted, could not have been abrogated without producing much confusion, the observance of it being necessarily interwoven with all the public proceedings. We may accordingly conclude, from the words of our Saviour himself, that the Jewish sabbath should continue to be strictly observed by the Christians of Jerusalem, even to the destruction of that city, since, in admonishing them of that calamitous event, he exhorted them to pray, that their flight might not be on the sabbath. We know, indeed, on the other hand, that from the time of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, the disciples met for prayer on the first day of each week; and, therefore, we must conclude, that in Jerusalem the Christians observed a double sabbath,—the Jewish, through respect for the still existing laws,—and a new sabbath, in commemoration of the resurrection of their Lord.

“The observance of a double sabbath, however, does not appear to have been extended beyond the precincts of the Jewish government, for the apostle Paul wrote to the Colossians, “let no man, therefore, judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holiday, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath-days, which are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ.” Here, indeed, we have an express declaration, that the observance of the Jewish sabbath was no longer obligatory, and might be discontinued without any just imputation of guilt, though the observance of a different sabbath is left to be collected from the practice of the apostles. But, so long as the Jewish state subsisted, a general injunction for abrogating the sabbath of the Jews could not properly be issued.

“The distinction here noticed, between the Christians of Jerusalem, and the Christians of other places, receives a very remarkable confirmation from the difference observable in the statements of the admonition of our Saviour, concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, as given by two evangelists, addressing different churches. Matthew, who is understood to have written his gospel for Judea, represents our Saviour as exhorting his followers to pray, that their flight might not be “in the winter, nor on the sabbath;” but Mark, who addressed his narrative to the Christians of Rome, has omitted from the corresponding passage the mention of the sabbath; apparently because at Rome, the observance had been discontinued, and a reference to the Jewish celebration, for illustrating the horror of the time, would not have been understood.

“If it should be asked, why, though the Jewish sabbath had not been abrogated, was not a new sabbath enforced upon the observance of Christians? it might be answered, that enough was actually done for pointing out the observance to the practice of Christians, and a formal injunction, besides that it would have embarrassed the original church of Jerusalem, would probably have been elsewhere understood to

transfer to it the ceremonial rigour of the Jewish sabbath, instead of the spiritual character belonging to a Christian solemnity. If an apostolic injunction had been issued for constituting a new sabbath, the observance of the one day would naturally have been understood to succeed precisely into the place of that of the other, and to require the same rigour of external solemnization. The fourth commandment, by referring the observance of a seventh day to the creation, had sufficiently ascertained the general obligation of observing a sabbath. In the oblivion into which the observance appears to have fallen, the particular day designated to the Jews was invested with a character specially Jewish, as it was referred to a deliverance of that people; and it remained for the apostles to institute, under the same original obligation, a new sabbath of a Christian character, as referring to a Christian and spiritual deliverance, which should be observed with a heartfelt devotion, not burthened with a punctilious attention to outward regulation. Such a change the apostles accordingly authorized in the most appropriate manner, by the silent sanction of their own example, which would as little as possible afford a pretence for an outward formality, not belonging to the Christian character; and the formal observance of the Jewish sabbath, though not generally abrogated, because the abrogation would in the Jewish government have caused public confusion and disturbance, was quietly suffered to fall into disuse, wheresoever that government did not require its continuance.

“It is acknowledged, that the apostles and their disciples habitually assembled for religious purposes on the first day of each week; and in that treatise, which closed the series of the scriptures of the New Testament, and the author of which alone wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem, we find “the Lord’s day” mentioned, as a day then known among Christians to be so distinguished, and particularised as the appropriate time, when the writer was favoured with his prophetic vision of the future trials of the church of Christ. We find also in the sacred writings much more than the mere practice of the apostles and their disciples, though the authority of such a practice should be highly estimated, even if it were not recommended by any other consideration, than that of the character of the inspired teachers of our religion.

“The solemn observance of the first day of the week has been particularly sanctioned both by our Saviour, and by the Holy Spirit. Jesus, who had appeared to his disciples on the day of his resurrection, which was the first of the week, seems to have reserved his second appearance for the next recurrence of that day, as if to mark to his followers a new selection of a day for religious celebration. The effusion also of the Holy Spirit at the first Christian pentecost, which was in that year solemnized on the first day of the week, bestowed on it a distinguished sacredness of character. Neither can it be thought that this was a merely casual coincidence, for it has been shewn, that the day of pentecost had been, in the original institution of the festival, determined by a computation of weeks from the day of an offering to be made in the paschal week, which had been expressly assigned to “the morrow after the sabbath,” so that the coincidence appears to have been prospectively

appointed in the very formation of the Jewish state. Not only, therefore, does the day of the resurrection appear to have been typically designated by that offering, but a provision appears also to have been made for sanctifying its recurrence, in the method of regulating the time of the succeeding festival.

“If it be asked, why should any change have been made in the sabbath, though it might be sufficient to reply, that it is enough for us to perceive that a change has been ordered and authorized, yet in this case we may assign a satisfactory reason. The sabbath of the Jews was a ceremonial observance, and therefore not adapted to the spiritual character of the religion of Christians. It is obvious that the necessary change of character might be most effectually introduced by transferring the observance to a different day, since in this case the influence of former practice would be interrupted and excluded. Whatever in the observance was exclusively Jewish, would naturally cease with the abolition of the Jewish sabbath, and that celebration alone would remain, which would belong to a worship offered “in spirit and in truth.” The change of reference also required that a different day should be selected, that confusion in the application might be precluded, and the minds of Christians be directed towards their proper object. If the sabbath of the Jews commemorated their national deliverance from the captivity of Egypt, it is manifest that a different day would better direct the thoughts of Christians to a commemoration of that resurrection which gave the assurance of a much more comprehensive, and a much more important deliverance, the deliverance of the human race from the penalties of sin.”—pp. 37.—43.

This answer is abundantly sufficient for the purpose of silencing the Roman Catholic, when he contends that an unwritten tradition of doctrinal truths may be proved by that change in the sabbath-day, which took place in the age and with the sanction of the apostles, and is recorded in apostolical and inspired histories. We should be sorry to abandon this advantageous position and to encounter the Romanist in the typical field, to which Dr. Miller has ventured to challenge him.

ART. XII.—1. *Two Lectures on the History of Biblical Interpretation. With an Appendix.* By Herbert Marsh, D.D., F.R.S., and F.S.A. Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, and Bishop of Peterborough. London. Rivington. 8vo. 1828. pp. 63. 2s. 6d.

2. *A Second Letter to the Lord Bishop of Peterborough, on the Independence of the Authorized Version of the Bible.* By Henry Walter, B.D., F.R.S., and F.S.A. Late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; Professor in the East India College, Herts; and Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Nor-

thumberland. *Intended as a Reply to the additional Arguments in the Appendix to his Lordship's lately published Lectures.* London. Hatchard. 8vo. 1828. pp. 54.

HAVING directed the attention of our readers to Professor Walter's first pamphlet on the authorized translation of the Bible, it is incumbent upon us to make them acquainted with the answer of the learned Bishop of Peterborough, and with the Professor's reply. The *answer* is contained in an Appendix to the Two Lectures on the History of Biblical Interpretations, which give an account of the different modes of criticism which have prevailed from the first to the seventeenth century, and furnish a brief but useful catalogue of the principal commentators who flourished before the Reformation. The most important portion of the Appendix is contained in the following extracts.

“Having shown the fallacy of the inference respecting the authorized version, I will proceed to the consideration of what I said respecting Tyndal's translation. And as I must beg to be judged by my *own* words, I will quote what I said at p. 296. (Part III. p. 33. 2d ed.) respecting the assistance which Tyndal derived from Luther. ‘We may conclude, therefore, that Tyndal's translation was taken, at least *in part*, from Luther's: and this conclusion is further confirmed by the *Germanisms* which it contains, some of which are still preserved in our authorized version.’ Such was the conclusion to which I came, with respect to Tyndal and Luther: and as I am answerable for the accuracy of *this* conclusion, I will give additional arguments in support of it.

“To conduct the inquiry with precision, let us confine ourselves in the first instance to the New Testament. Though Luther's German version contains the whole Bible, he began with the translation of the New Testament, which he published in 1522. Tyndal likewise began his biblical translations with the New Testament, which he printed in 1526. No one can suppose, therefore, that Luther's New Testament was unknown to Tyndal, when he made his own translation; especially as Tyndal, like other English Reformers of that age, went into Saxony and became personally acquainted with Luther. Angliâ relictâ in Germaniam transivit, et in Saxonîâ cum Martino Luthero et Johanne Fritho, populari suo, sermonem contulit.

“And that he acquired a knowledge of the German language appears from his ‘Prologue to the Epistle of St. Paule to the Romayns,’ which is chiefly a translation from a Preface to that Epistle by Luther. Since then it is evident that Luther's New Testament was not only *known* to Tyndal, but that he was able to *use* it, few persons would be disposed to doubt that he *did* use it. Where a translation so highly, and so justly esteemed as that of Luther already existed, a subsequent translator would show more vanity than wisdom, if he attempted to give a new translation, which should be altogether *independent* of the former. Nothing can be more absurd than to consider the independence of a translation as a

recommendation of it. Most persons will give me credit for a knowledge of German: yet when I translated the Introduction of Michaelis from the fourth edition, I was not too proud to consult an English translation, which had been made from the first edition. And whenever the first translator had used a word, which I thought preferable to the word which occurred to me, I always adopted the former translation. It is true, that in all such places the *independence* of my translation was destroyed; but what it lost in independence, it gained in correctness. If indeed a translator professes to give nothing more throughout his whole book, than the translation of a translation, like Wickliff's translation from the Latin Vulgate, no question can arise about dependence or independence. Such a translation is *no where* a translation from the original. But I have never asserted, and I have never meant, that Tyndal's New Testament was a *mere* translation from the German of Luther. I have no doubt that when Tyndal made his translation of the New Testament, he translated with the Greek original lying before him; for however limited his knowledge of Hebrew might be, he had the reputation of being a good Greek scholar. But I have likewise no doubt that he made considerable use of Luther's New Testament: and will now proceed to the proof.

“Though Tyndal has *no where* acknowledged his obligations to Luther, no argument can be drawn from his silence on that subject. For he is equally silent on the ‘Prologue to the Romainys,’ which was unquestionably taken from Luther. And every one who has compared Luther's New Testament with that of Tyndal, must have perceived how closely in other respects the former was followed by the latter. Luther, who is known to have disliked the Epistle of St. James, removed it from its usual place at the *head* of the Catholic Epistles, and placed it immediately before the Epistle of St. Jude. In this singular transposition he was followed by Tyndal, in whose translation, as well as in that of Luther, the Epistle of St. James is the *sixth* of the Catholic Epistles. Again the Epistle to the Hebrews, which usually follows the Epistle to Philemon, as the fourteenth of St. Paul's Epistles, was transferred by Luther to the *Catholic* Epistles, and placed immediately after the third Epistle of St. John. In Tyndal's New Testament the Epistle to the Hebrews is *likewise* placed immediately after the third Epistle of St. John. At other times Luther has made alterations with regard to the *Chapters*. For instance, the first sentence of Mark ix. was made by Luther the last sentence of Mark viii. And so it was by Tyndal. Again, the first sentence of 1 Cor. xi. was made by Luther the last sentence of ch. x. And so it was by Tyndal. In another place Luther has carried two sentences forward, having removed the two last sentences of 1 Cor. i. to the beginning of ch. ii. The same transfer took place in Tyndal's New Testament. Again, the three last sentences of Heb. iv. were transferred by Luther to the beginning of ch. v. And Tyndal did the same. Now if the singular coincidences mentioned in this paragraph do not establish the fact, that Tyndal used Luther's New Testament, it will be difficult to afford a proof of any thing.

“I will now give some examples, to show the manner in which Tyndal’s mode of *translating* was influenced by Luther’s German Version. Luther thus begins the first chapter of St. Matthew, ‘dis ist das Buch von der Geburt Jesu Christi,’ though there is nothing in the Greek corresponding to *Dis ist*. And Tyndal in like manner begins with ‘*This is the boke*,’ &c. Matth. ii. 18. φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμᾷ ἠκούσθη is translated by Luther, Auf dem Gebürge hat man ein Geschrey gehört. Instead, therefore, of taking Rama for the name of a city, as it is commonly understood both in Matth. ii. 18. and Jeremiah xxxi. 15. he had recourse to the Hebrew רמה as an *appellative*, and translated it Gebürge. In like manner Tyndal, instead of Rama as a proper name, has used the word ‘hilles,’ and translated the passage ‘on the hilles was a voice harde.’ He has here followed Luther with the greatest exactness: for Gebürge though a noun singular has a plural sense, and signifies not a single hill, but an assemblage of hills, whence Tyndal has ‘hilles’ in the plural. He agrees also with Luther in the *arrangement* of the words. Matth. iv. 25. ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ Δεκαπόλεως is translated by Luther ‘aus Galiläa aus den zehn Städten:’ and in this passage Tyndal has ‘from Galilee and from the *ten cities*.’ Matth. viii. 18. ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν is translated by Luther ‘hiess er hinuber jenseits des Meers fahren,’ though there is no word in the Greek corresponding to *des Meers*. Yet Tyndal agrees with Luther, and has ‘he commanded to go over *the water*.’ Matth. xi. 18. δαιμόνιον ἔχει is rendered by Luther ‘Er hat den Teufel,’ and by Tyndal ‘He haeth *the deuyll*.’ Matth. xiii. 10. διατί ἐν παραβολαῖς λαλεῖς αὐτοῖς is rendered by Tyndal ‘Why speakest thou to them in parables?’ but ver. 13. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν παραβολαῖς αὐτοῖς λαλῶ he translates ‘Therefore speak I to them in *similitudes*.’ Here Luther’s translation is ‘Darum rede ich zu ihnen in *Gleichnissen*,’ with which Tyndal agrees even in the structure of the sentence.”—pp. 52—57.

“It cannot appear extraordinary, if an English translator, who followed Luther so closely as Tyndal did, should occasionally adopt a German idiom. Now there is nothing which more distinguishes the structure of the German from that of the English language, than the position of the nominative case and verb in affirmative sentences. To make this intelligible to an English reader, and at the same time to contrast the English with the German idiom, let us take some familiar English example, for instance, ‘I rode yesterday from Cambridge to Huntingdon,’ which might be expressed in German by ‘Ich ritt gestern von Cambridge nach Huntingdon.’ But if *Gestern* be placed at the beginning of the sentence, the German idiom requires that the nominative be put *after* the verb, though the sentence is not interrogatory, but affirmative. A German, therefore, would say ‘*Gestern ritt ich* von Cambridge nach Huntingdon,’ though an Englishman, if he began the sentence with yesterday, would still say ‘Yesterday I rode,’ &c. And if he said ‘Yesterday *rode* I from Cambridge to Huntingdon,’ he would use a Germanism.

“Now there are many such Germanisms in our English Bible, though their deviation from the common English style is generally overlooked,

because we are accustomed to them from our childhood. One example has been already given from Matth. xiii. 13. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν παραβολαῖς αὐτοῖς λαλῶ, which most English translators would render 'therefore I speak to them in parables.' But Luther's German translation is 'Darum rede ich zu ihnen in Gleichnissen,' and hence Tyndal's translation is 'Therefore *speak I* to them,' &c. which is still retained in the King's Bible. 1 Cor. vii. 12. τοῖς ἐξ λοιποῖς ἐγὼ λέγω, is rendered by Luther 'den andern *sage ich*.' Hence Tyndal has '*speak I*,' which is retained in the King's Bible. 1 Cor. vii. 17. καὶ οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις πάσαις διατάσσονται, would be translated into common English 'and so *I order* in all the churches.' But Luther, as the German idiom requires, places the nominative *after* the verb, and translates "Und also *schaffe ich*," whence Tyndal has "*so order I*," Coverdale has so '*orden I*,' and hence our present reading '*so ordain I*.' Other examples which originated in Tyndal's translation, and were transferred to the King's Bible, are 1 Cor. ix. 22. 'To the weak *became I*.'—xii. 31. 'and yet *shew I*.'—2 Cor. vii. 13. 'exceedingly the more *joyed we*.'—xi. 24. 'Of the Jews five times *received I*.'—1 Thess. ii. 13. 'for this cause also *thank we*.'—Heb. v. 8. 'yet *learned he*.' James i. 18. 'of his own will *begat he*.'—1 John i. 3. 'That which we have seen and heard *declare we*.' These examples, to which many more might be added, are sufficient to establish the fact, that there are *Germanisms* in our authorized version. In the examples, which I have selected, the verbs are all *principal* verbs: for even in English the pronoun nominative sometimes follows *auxiliary* verbs, even where no question is asked. There are likewise some principal verbs, as saith, quoth, &c. which precede their nominatives; and there are some constructions which it is not easy to define, where the nominative *may* be placed after the verb in affirmations. But the examples, which I have selected, do not appear to be warranted by the common usage of the English language: and, as they are in perfect accordance with the structure of the German language, they may be fairly ascribed to the circumstance, that Tyndal translated under the influence of the German idiom."—*Dr. Marsh on the History of Biblical Interpretation*, —pp. 58—60.

These passages appear to contain a strong case on the part of the Bishop; but let us hear Professor Walter's reply.

"The questions before us are, however, first, Whether Tyndal *could* make use of Luther's German translation? And then; Whether his knowledge of either Greek or Hebrew, was so limited, as to oblige, or tempt him, to construe from the German; only checking Luther by the Vulgate, or, more rarely, from his own conception of the meaning of the original?

"I am not disposed to assert, nor is it necessary, for the establishment of my view of the subject, to maintain, that Tyndal was ignorant of German; though I pointed out to your lordship that a friend of Spalatinus, after conversing at Worms with an Englishman, whom several

circumstances prove to have been no other than Tyndal, described him as 'ita septem linguarum peritum, Hebraicæ, Græcæ, Latinæ, Italicæ, Hispanicæ, Britannicæ, Gallicæ, ut quæcumque loquatur, in eâ natum putes.' In which list of Tyndal's acquirements, German does not appear. And you must excuse my adding, that I cannot think your arguments to prove him acquainted with German, by any means irresistible.

"In the text of the Lectures you still speak thus:—'What knowledge Tyndal had of Hebrew is unknown; but he of course understood the Latin Vulgate; and he was likewise acquainted with German.' In the Appendix, where the disputed propositions of your text were to be proved, you say, 'That he acquired a knowledge of the German language appears from his Prologue to the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Romainys, which is chiefly a translation from a preface to that epistle by Luther. Since then, it is evident that Luther's New Testament was not only known to Tyndal, but that he was able to use it, few persons would be disposed to doubt that he *did* use it.' But this evidence cannot be received as sufficiently decisive to allow of a conclusion being quite so rapidly built upon it; in face of the fact noticed in my Letter, that a Latin version of Luther's Preface had been published five years before Tyndal printed his *Prologue*.

"The next assertion, to the point, repeated in your text, is, 'He passed some time with Luther, at Wittenberg.' The authority for this in your Appendix, is the following quotation: 'Angliâ relictâ in Germaniam transivit, et in Saxoniam cum M. Luthero et Joh. Fritho, populari suo, sermonem contulit. Freheri Theatrum, p. 109.' But it does not appear that this foreign writer meant to say more of the length of time which they passed together, than might be conveyed in the words which he was translating from our countryman, Fox. 'At his departing out of the realm, he took his journey into the farther parts of Germany, as into Saxony, where he had conference with Luther, and other learned men.'—pp. 5—7.

"Without repeating all I said on this subject, I may be permitted to observe again, briefly, that as each had for his object the reformation of Christianity, it was surely natural that each should begin with giving his countrymen the New Testament in their native tongue; and should then turn back to Genesis, and proceed straight forward with the old, as far as Tyndal lived to continue his task. The portions of Scripture common to both translations were translated by each in this order; unless Tyndal imitated Luther, in interrupting his course to translate Jonah. An imitation which would not be fully accounted for, even by supposing him obliged to follow every irregularity in Luther's course of translation, in order to have the advantage of using his version; for Luther translated according to the order in which the several books follow each other in the Bible, from Genesis to Canticles inclusive, before he interrupted his course to translate Jonah; whilst the publication of Tyndal's translation of Jonah, is placed next to that of the English Pentateuch. And here I must beg to be pardoned, if I do repeat one of my remarks on the Prologue to Jonah by Tyndal: 'Jonah, a solitary preacher, was ordered to call the people of a great city to repent of their sins; and

to reform ; and Tyndal, a persecuted individual, obliged to fly from his country, and shipwrecked whilst preparing the means for instructing and reforming a whole nation, had inducement enough to digress for a while, with Jonah and reformation for his theme.'

"In the note appended to this remark, I observed : 'It is only from the connexion between the mission of Jonah and endeavours to reform the religion of states, that I can account for the long list of separate editions of this prophet, published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In Masch's *Le Long*, twenty-two editions, with Latin versions or paraphrases, are enumerated, besides the vernacular translations.'

"Had I not been peculiarly unfortunate in my endeavours to induce your lordship to think with me, you would scarcely, after reading this, have considered it worth while to say as follows : 'It is difficult to assign a reason, why a translator of the Old Testament should begin his translation of the prophetic books with that of the prophet Jonah. And it is still more difficult to explain, why *two* translators should act in the same manner, unless the latter was influenced by the former. Now Jonah was the first of the prophetic books which Luther selected for translation ; and it was the first, if not the only prophetic book, which Tyndal translated. According to Lewis, p. 72, Tyndal's translation of Jonah was published about 1531.' Instead of only *two* translators both beginning and ending their translations of the prophets with Jonah, I feel reluctant to ask your lordship to satisfy yourself, by searching *Le Long*, how many, out of the numerous editors and translators I lately referred to, did no more. But, indeed, I could wish that your researches had enabled you, without trouble, to give me some further authority than the reference to Lewis for the satisfaction of my doubts, whether Tyndal ever did translate Jonah. I had observed in my Letter, that it did not appear certain, from Lewis's language, that he had seen any thing more than the Prologue to Jonah ; a tract issued by Tyndal, as the vehicle for a very energetic diatribe against the Romish church. And that if a translation of the prophet by Tyndal was ever appended to this Prologue, which fills seventeen closely printed folio columns, 'I had never been able to meet with any such translation. It is not in Archbishop Newcome's careful list of the English translations, Matthew's Bible, which contains all Tyndal's other translations, appears not to contain this.'—pp. 8—11.

"I should have no objection to leaving these coincidences, without farther notice of them, to be compared by your readers with the important examples given by me of Tyndal's coming nearer to the original, in the Hebrew, than either Luther, the Vulgate, or the LXX. But as you probably think the strongest of your instances to be that in which you found Luther and Tyndal agreeing to construe the word *Papā hills*, as if the Hebrew original רמה Jer. xxxi. 15, was the description, rather than the name, of a district ; it may not be improper to mention, that this is far from being a novel interpretation, only to be got by copying Luther. In Wicliffe's New Testament the word *Papa* had been translated in a similar manner *an high*, or, as some copies have it, *in higthe* ; and in the Anglo-Saxon gospel the clause stands thus : 'Stein wæs on

hehnyse gehyred. The truth is, my lord, that it was Tyndal's avowed and constant object, to leave as few words uninterpreted for the ignorant as possible. This led him, in your third instance, to render *Δεκαπόλεως* *the ten cities*; and, in your last, to use *similitudes* instead of *parables*. He had employed the word *parables* in translating the corresponding clause, verse 10, where Luther had also *gleichnisse*; but, by making use of the term *similitudes* when the expression was repeated, Tyndal taught his readers a meaning of the word *parable*. After the same manner, in his 'Answer unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue,' Tyndal says, 'Of the *similitudes* that Christ maketh in the gospel, of the kingdom of heaven, it appeareth that though the Holy Ghost is in the chosen'—; where his use of the word *chosen* instead of *elect* is another specimen of the like kind."—pp. 13, 14.

"Whilst translating Michaelis, your lordship's thoughts would necessarily be led to the subject under discussion, by his saying, that 'examples might be produced from the English bible of Germanisms that to every Englishman must appear obscure.' In your note upon this, you remarked, that 'it might appear more reasonable to conclude that those terms of expression which are no longer current in modern writings, were remnants of the Anglo-Saxon idiom, of which more traces are visible in the works of that age, than in those of the present century.' But, unhappily, though you thus anticipated the objections which some might make to the using these alleged Germanisms, as a ground for arguing that our bible owed them to the influence of Luther's version, you have not, it seems, thought it worth while to ascertain how far that objection applied to the Germanisms which you thought you had yourself detected.

"If your lordship, whose accurate knowledge of German enables you to detect any turn of expression corresponding with the German idiom quite as readily as Michaelis, could discover no more striking examples of Germanisms than the one brought forward in this Appendix, you must have smiled at the German professor's venturing to say, that 'to every Englishman these must appear obscure.'

"On first reading your Appendix, I naturally looked into Tyndal's own compositions, to see whether this post-position of the pronoun nominative might not be usual with him. And in the first page of his 'Obedience of a Christian Man,' I found the following, 'Here *scest thou*, that it is God's gift.' In the third page another, 'Whom God chooseth to reign everlastingly with Christ, him *sealeth he* with his mighty Spirit, and putteth strength into his heart to suffer affliction also with Christ, for bearing witness unto the truth.' In the next page, 'When we have forsaken our own will, and offer ourselves clean unto the will of God, to walk which way soever he will have us; then *turneth he* the tyrants.'

"But as you perhaps might imagine that Tyndal, even in these cases, was copying some German divine, I thought it would be more satisfactory to look whether this supposed German idiom might not be found in Chaucer, before any translations from the German could have affected the tongue of our forefathers. I opened on fol. vii. of Thynne's edition,

at the knight's tale, in which 'there *saw I*,' or 'yet *saw I*,' occurred eight times; besides the following similar instances to our purpose:—

' Her eyen *cast she* full lowe adowne,
And lyke a lyon *loked he* aboute,
Full hye upon a chare of golde *stode he*.'

But lest these should be considered as cases of poetical inversion, not otherwise allowable, I turned to Chaucer's prose, and opening that long and singular sermon introduced by him as the parson's tale, I read, 'She may have mercy, this *note I* well.'—De Luxuria. If I go further back to the Anglo-Saxon scriptures, the beginning of Genesis supplies me with an example: 'Tha *genam he* an ribb of his sidan.' And if I turn to the gospels, the first verses, at which I have opened St. Luke, afford me several: 'Tha *comon hig* anes dægæs fær,' chap. ii. ver. 44. 'Tha *ne ongeaton hig*,' ver. 50. 'Tha *ferde he* mid him,' ver. 51.

"So that you perceive, my lord, there needed no German to bias Tyndal towards the usage of a form of expression that must have been quite natural to him; though not often employed, I suspect, in English, without some intention of giving a particular emphasis to the pronoun. It was this reflection that brought to my mind the force given in the English version, by the post-position of the pronoun, to the language of St. Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 'So *fight I*, not as one that beateth the air.' But on looking into Luther's Bible, I found that here, at least, the English translator must have the credit of employing this form by his own unbiassed choice; for the German is 'Ich *fechte* also, nicht als der in die luft streichet.'

"This led me to examine the cases referred to in your Appendix; for the purpose of learning, whether there was any such peculiarity about them as to make it improper to observe, that, where this form was found in both versions, it might be merely a case of coincidence in the usage of an idiom, not uncommon in either language."—pp. 20—24.

We confess that the facts and arguments contained in these extracts are to our mind decisively in favour of Professor Walter's side of the question under consideration; and we can safely refer our readers to the remainder of his pamphlet for much additional and highly interesting information.

STATE OF THE DIOCESES

IN

ENGLAND AND WALES,

FROM APRIL TO JUNE INCLUSIVE.

PREFERRED.

The Very Reverend RICHARD BAGOT, D.D. Dean of Canterbury, Rector of Blithfield and of Leigh, Staffordshire, has been nominated to the SEE of OXFORD, vacant by the death of the Right Reverend CHARLES LLOYD, D.D.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
York.			
Foston, R.	York . . .	T. S. Escott . . .	Lord Chancellor.
London.			
Allhallows, London- Wall, R.	Middlesex .	George Davys . .	Lord Chancellor.
Dunmow, Great, V. .	Essex . . .	John Smith . . .	The Lord Bishop.
Hornsey, R.	Middlesex .	Richard Harvey .	The Lord Bishop.
Prebendary of Isling- ton in Cath. Ch. of St. Paul, London . }	Middlesex .	W. H. Hale . . .	The Lord Bishop.
Langham, R.	Essex . . .	D. Hurlock . . }	The King, as Duke of Lancaster.
Durham.			
Haltwhistle, V. . . .	Northumb.	William Ives . .	The Lord Bishop.
Prebendary in Cath- edral Church of . }	Durham . .	Charles Thorp . .	The Lord Bishop.
Prebendary in Cath- edral Church of . }	Durham . .	Thomas Gaisford	The Lord Bishop.
Sedgefield, R. . . .	Durham . .	T. L. Strong . .	The Lord Bishop.
Staindrop, R. with Cockfield, R. . . }	Durham . .	J. W. D. Merest	Marquis of Cleveland.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Winchester.			
Bradley, R.	Hants . .	John Griffin . .	E. B. Blackburn, Esq.
Portsea, St. Paul, P. C.	Hants . .	Samuel Slocock }	C. B. Henville, as <i>V.</i> of Portsea.
West Titherley, R. . .	Hants . .	W. A. Bouverie .	C. B. Wall, Esq.
Bath and Wells.			
Bromfield, P. C. . . .	Somerset .	E. T. Halliday }	Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Ross.
Combe Florey, R. . . .	Somerset .	Sydney Smith .	The Lord Chancellor.
Compton Dundon, <i>V.</i>	Somerset .	J. Dickinson . }	Rev. W. Bowe, as Pre- bend of Compton Dundon, in Wells Cathedral.
Lydford, East, R. . . .	Somerset .	E. Harbin . }	W. Dickenson, Esq. John Davis, Esq.
Ely.			
Dry Drayton, R.	Cambridge.	Samuel Smith .	Rev. S. Smith, D. D.
Prebend in Cathedral } Church of }	Ely . . .	E. B. Sparke . .	The Lord Bishop.
Exeter.			
Buriton, R.	Hants . .	C. G. Boyles . .	The Lord Bishop.
Halberton, <i>V.</i>	Devon . .	Sydney Smith .	Dn. & Ch. of Bristol.
Hemiock, R.	Devon . .	F. Warre, D.C.L.	Lieut.-Gen. Popham.
Holne, <i>V.</i>	Devon . .	J. D. Parham .	Rev. S. Lane.
St. Creed, R.	Cornwall .	J. Daubuz . . .	Richard Johns, Esq.
Prebend in Cathedral } Church of }	Exeter . .	T. Scott Smyth .	The Lord Bishop.
Gloucester.			
Elmstone Hardwick, } <i>V.</i> }	Gloucester .	H. B. Fowler . }	Lord Chancellor.
Treddington, C. . . . }			The Lord Bishop.
Lich. & Coventry.			
Archdeaconry of Staf- ford, and Canon Residentiaryship in Cathedral Church of }	Lichfield .	George Hodson .	The Lord Bishop.
West Bromwich New Church }	Stafford . .	William Gordon	Earl of Dartmouth.
Whitchurch, R. . . .	Salop . .	E. Tatham, D. D.	Countess Bridgwater.
Uttoxeter, <i>V.</i>	Stafford . .	H. B. Fowler . .	D. & Can. of Windsor.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Lincoln.			
Caddington, <i>V.</i> . . .	Bedford . .	Wm. Mellard . .	D. & C. of St. Paul's.
Datchworth, <i>R.</i> . . .	Herts . . .	E. S. Bunting . .	Clare Hall, Cambridge
Nassington, <i>V. with</i> }	Northampton	Hewett Linton }	Archdeacon Bonney,
Yarwell, <i>C.</i> . . . }			as Preb. of Nassington, in Cath. Ch.
Whaddon, <i>V. with</i> }	Bucks . . .	W. C. Risley . .	New College, Oxford.
Nash, <i>Ch.</i> . . . }			
Wlandaff.			
Llwgorg, <i>R.</i>	Glamorgan.	Calvert R. Jones }	The King, as Prince of Wales.
Newchurch, East, <i>P. C.</i>	Monmouth .	J. C. Prosser . .	Duke of Beaufort.
Norwich.			
Ashby, near Caister, }	Norfolk . .	Horatio Bolton }	Eton College, on nomination of Bishop of Norwich.
<i>R. with Oby, R.</i> }			
and Docking, <i>V.</i> . }			
Barmingham Parva, <i>R.</i>	Norfolk . .	Edward Dewing	G. D. Graver, Esq.
Caistor, St. Edmund, }	Norfolk . .	G. W. Steward .	John Steward, Esq.
<i>R. with Trinity, V.</i> }			
Cowling, <i>P. C.</i>	Suffolk . .	S. H. Banks . .	Trinity Hall, Cambr.
Freckenham, <i>R. & V.</i> .	Norwich .	Samuel Tillbrook }	Peter-House, Cambridge.
Hollesley, <i>R.</i>	Suffolk . .	Henry Bathurst }	Rev. Wm. Bolton and Earl Nelson.
Horsford, <i>V. and</i> }	Norfolk . .	Octavius Mathias	Vice-Admiral Stevens
Horsham St. Faith, <i>V.</i> }			
Pensthorpe, <i>R.</i> . . .	Norfolk . .	G. Coldham . .	Rev. R. Hamond.
Tuddenham, <i>R.</i> . . .	Suffolk . .	William Hall . .	Marquis of Bristol.
Weybread, St. Mary, <i>V.</i>	Suffolk . .	John Edge Daniel	On his own Petition.
Oxford.			
Ewelme, <i>R.</i>	Oxford . .	Edward Burton }	Annexed to the Reg. Prof. of Divinity in the University.
Mapledurham, <i>V.</i> . .	Oxford . .	August. Fitzclarence	
Peterborough.			
Culworth, <i>R. and V.</i> .	Northampton	John Spence . .	Sawyer Spence, Esq.
Grafton Underwood, <i>R.</i>	Northampton	Thomas Cooke .	The Ladies Fitzpatrick
Peakirk, <i>R. with</i> }	Northampton	{ J. H. Monk, }	The Dean & Chapter of Peterborough.
Glington, <i>C.</i> }			
Prebend in Cathedral }	Peterborough	John James . .	The Lord Bishop.
Church of }			

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Salisbury.			
Alton Barnes, R. . .	Wilts . .	A. W. Hare . .	New College, Oxford.
Castle Eaton, R. . .	Wilts . .	Thomas Bullock	T. Culley, Esq.
Dauntsey, R. . .	Wilts . .	G. A. Biederman }	Sir C. Trotter, Bart. & Rev. M. G. Fenwick.
Fordington, <i>V. with</i> }	Dorset . .	M. Moule . . }	Prebendary of Ford-
Writhlington, R. . }			ington in Cath. Ch.
Longbridge Deverill .	Wilts . .	Lewis Tugwell .	Marquis of Bath.
Sutton Courtney, <i>V.</i> .	Berks . .	William Tiptaft	D. & C. of Windsor.
St. David's.			
Llanylar, <i>V.</i>	Cardigan .	David Felix . .	The Lord Bishop.
Worcester.			
East Birlingham, R. .	Worcester .	R. Eyres Landor	A. Luders, Esq.
Ipsley, R.	Warwick .	Thos. D. Dolben	Rev. T. S. Dolben.
Oldbury, C.	Salop . .	W. Rose Holden }	Rev. G. Biggs, as Vicar of Halesowen.

CHAPLAINSHIPS, &c.

Bamford, H. L. M. A. to Price's Hospital, Hereford. Patrons, the Mayor and Corporation of Hereford.

Bower, M. to be Chaplain of Wilton Gaol.

Compton, William, jun. to be Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Home.

Cornish, H. K. to be Domestic Chaplain to Dowager Baroness Audley.

Edwards, John Meredith, to the Chaplaincy of the ships in ordinary at Portsmouth.

Freeland, H. M. A. to the High Sheriff of Suffolk.

Hall, W. J. to be a Priest in Ordinary of His Majesty's Chapel Royal.

Harbin, C. M. A. to Hindon Chapel, Wilts.

Kemp, E. C. to be one of the Chaplains to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge.

La Trobe, J. A. to be Domestic Chaplain to Lord Mount Sandford.

Matthew, E. to the Readership of St. James's, Bath.

Morgan, C. A. to be a Chaplain in Ordinary to the King.

Ricketts, Wm. to be one of the Domestic Chaplains to H. R. H. the Duke of Cumberland.

Roberson, W. H. M. to the Chaplaincy of Oxford City Gaol.

West, M. to the Chaplaincy of Bury Gaol.

Whittenoom, J. B. to be Chaplain to the Swan River Settlement, Australasia.

COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS.

Carter, T. to the Fellowship of Eton College.

Cooke, Joseph, Head Master of Newark Grammar School.

Hopwood, William, Master of Hitchin Grammar School.

Jacob, Edwin, M. A. Rector of St. Pancras, Chichester, to be Vice President, Acting and Resident Head of King's College, New Brunswick.

Longley, Charles Thomas, D. D. to the Head Mastership of Harrow School. Patrons, the Governors.

Shillibeer, John, Head Master of Oundle Grammar School.

Yonge, C. to the Under-mastership of Eton College.

Williams, C. K. Master of Lewes Grammar School.

ORDAINED.

WINCHESTER.

By the Lord Bishop, May 17.

DEACONS.

Thomas Charles Pearson, B.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

Francis Merewether, S.C.L. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

PRIESTS.

Rev. Josiah James, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Rev. John Parkinson Sill, B.A. Cambridge.

Rev. Capel Molynceux, B.A. Christ College, Cambridge.

BATH AND WELLS.

By the Lord Bishop, April 19.

DEACONS.

O. S. Harrison, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

E. F. Phipps, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

R. F. Gould, B.A. Trinity College, Dublin.

W. G. Heathman, B.A. Catherine Hall, Cambridge.

G. R. Lawson, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

H. J. Williams, S.C.L. St. John's College, Cambridge.

J. Woodhouse, B.A. Sidney College, Cambridge.

PRIESTS.

J. S. Jenkinson, B.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxford.

G. R. Kensit, B.A. Wadham College, Oxford.

J. P. Mc'Ghie, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

J. Perry, B.A. Balliol College, Oxford.

G. Ross, B.A. Lincoln College, Oxford.

C. Pickwick, B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

R. Buller, M.A. Oriel College, Oxford ; by letters dismissory from the Lord Bishop of Exeter.

E. N. Braddon, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

R. C. Christie, LL.B. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

R. L. Hoppen, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

H. Moseley, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

G. P. Simpson, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

HEREFORD.

By the Lord Bishop, at Winchester, May 17.

DEACONS.

William Ricketts, M.A. Merton College, Oxford.

C. Wells, B.A. New College, Oxford.

M. G. Duncombe, B.A. Brazenose College, Oxford.

G. T. Forester, B.A. Brazenose College, Oxford.

PRIESTS.

Rev. J. Harding, M.A. Christ Church, Oxford.

W. J. B. Angell, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

J. W. Downes, B.A. Jesus College, Oxford.

NORWICH.

By the Lord Bishop, in the Cathedral, May 24.

DEACONS.

William Bannerman, B.A. Brazenose College, Oxford.

John Alexander Blackett, B.A. Christ Church, Oxford.

James Mellor Brown, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

William Darby, St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

John Massy Dawson, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

William Charles Fonnereau, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

William Foulger, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

John Gunton, B.A. Christ College, Cambridge.

Thomas Halsted, B.A. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

William Howorth, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

Thomas Collingwood Hughes, B.A. Downing College, Cambridge.

John Rust Jeffery, B.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge.

John Munnings Johnson, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Augustus Wenman Langton, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

John Custance Leak, S.C.L. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

Henry Spelman Marriott, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

George Horatio Nutting, B.A. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

Francis George Rawlins, B.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Isaac Banks Robinson, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Kirby Trimmer, B.A. St. Alban Hall, Oxford.

Samuel Blois Turner, B.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge.

Charles Wildbore, Trinity College, Cambridge.

Benjamin William Salmon Vallack, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

PRIESTS.

Pelham Stanhope Aldrich, B.C.L. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

Ernest Silvanus Appleyard, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

Haygarth Baines, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Robert Bond, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Horatio Walpole Bucke, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Samuel William Bull, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Richard Catton, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Thomas Charles Chevalier, B.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge.

Jonathan Blennan Cobham, M.A. Oriel College, Oxford.

George James Cubitt, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

Charles Newman Cutler, S.C.L. Trinity College, Cambridge.

John Edge Daniel, B.A. Christ College, Cambridge.

Edwin Proctor Denniss, S.C.L. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

Thomas Dix, B.A. Christ Church, Oxford.

William Coyte Freeland, B.A. Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

William Bird Frost, B.A. Clare Hall, Cambridge.

John Savile Hallifax, B.A. Trinity College, Oxford.

Wm. Arnold Walpole Keppel, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Edmund Kerrison, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Octavius Mathias, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Forster Maynard, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

Geo. Wm. Steward, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Samuel Stone, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

Henry Thos. Thompson, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

ROCHESTER.

By the Lord Bishop, in the Chapel of Bromley Palace, April 27.

PRIEST.

Henry Montague Grovers, S.C.L. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

DEACONS.

John Drake Becker, B.A. St. John's College.

J. A. Morris, B.A. Queen's College.

J. H. Stevenson, B.A. Jesus College.

Chas. Rose, B.A. Catherine Hall.

Wm. Green, B.A. Corpus Christi Coll.

SALISBURY.

By the Lord Bishop, at the Chapel in the Palace, Mar. 29.

DEACONS.

Frederick Edward Arney, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

Benjamin Morland, B.A. Trinity College, Dublin.

PRIESTS.

Charles Desborough Stewart, B.A. University College, Oxford.

Francis Henchman Buckerfield, B.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxford.

Robert David Cartwright, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

John Henry Arnold Walsh, M.A. Balliol College, Oxford.

Augustus James Brine, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

LINCOLN.

By the Lord Bishop, in Christ's College Chapel, Cambridge, on Sunday the 14th June.

DEACONS.

Tho. Ayres, S.C.L. St. John's College, Cambridge.

John Boyle, S.C.L. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

Joseph Brown, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Thomas Gayfere, B.A. Merton College, Oxford.

George Thomas Holland, B.A. Christ College, Cambridge.

John Edm. Johnson, S.C.L. St. John's College, Cambridge.

William Hutchinson King, Catharine Hall, Cambridge.

William Ludlow, B.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

Richard John L. Maydwell, B.A. Wadham College, Oxford.

Augustus Packe, B.A. Christ College, Cambridge.

Henry Pearse, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Marmaduke Prickett, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

John Sutton, B.A. Oriel College, Oxford.

Joseph Taylor, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Caleb Whitefoord, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

Aislabie Procter, B.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge.

From the Bishop of Durham.

PRIESTS.

James Appleton, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

John Byron, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

Andrew Corbett, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Joseph Deans, B.A. Christ College, Cambridge.

John T. C. Fawcett, B.A. Student of Christ Church, Oxford.

John Gore, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

John Morgan, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

Henry Newmarch, B.A. St. Mary Hall, Oxford.

Francis Pooley Roupell, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Thomas Sikes, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Henry Baugh Thorold, B.A. Trinity College, Oxford.

ELY.

By the Lord Bishop, at St. George's, Hanover Square, on Trinity Sunday.

DEACONS.

William Keeling, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

James Alexander Barnes, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Charles Luxmoore, B.A. King's College, Cambridge.

Edward Dodd, B.A. Magdalen College, Cambridge.

Henry Longueville Jones, B.A. Magdalen College, Cambridge.

William Selwyn, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

George King, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Benj. Hall Kennedy, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Richard Bethuel Boyes, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Edward Bates, B.A. Clare Hall, Cambridge.

Richard Taylor, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

John Ryle Wood, B.A. Christ Church, Oxford.

Charles Frederick Rogers Baylay, Trinity College, Cambridge.

From the Bishop of Rochester.

John Marshall, B.A. Trinity College, Dublin.

From the Bishop of Lichfield.

Tho. Dawson Hewson, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

From the Bishop of Chichester.

Samuel Edward Bernard, B.A. Magdalen College, Cambridge.

From the Bishop of Lichfield.

PRIESTS.

William Henry Hanson, M.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

Humphrey Senhouse Pinder, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

Richard Wilson, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Rich. Williamson, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Francis Gregory Le Mann, B.A. King's College, Cambridge.

John Gibson, B.A. Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

William Waring, M.A. Magdalen College, Cambridge.

Thomas Thorp, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Robert Bruce Boswell, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

John Harding, B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

Henry Garrett Newland, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

From the Bishop of Chichester.

PETERBOROUGH.

By the Lord Bishop, in the Cathedral Church, on Sunday, June 14.

DEACONS.

Stephen Ralph Cartwright, B.A. Christ Church, Oxford.

Henry Flesher, B.A. Lincoln College, Oxford.

Charles Hicks Gaye, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Percy Bysshe Harris, Clare Hall, Cambridge.

Robert Isham, B.A. Brasenose College, Oxford.

Francis Michael McCarthy, B.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

Frederick Maude, B.A. Brasenose College, Oxford.

George Oakes Miller, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

John Robinson, B.A. Brasenose College, Oxford.

PRIESTS.

George Stephens Dickson, B.A. University College, Oxford.

William Henry England, M.A. Pembroke College, Oxford.

Thomas Peach Holdich, B.A. Balliol College, Oxford.

Daniel Baxter Langley, S.C.L. St. John's College, Cambridge.

George Mason, B.A. Brasenose College, Oxford.

John Parry, M.A. Brasenose College, Oxford.

Henry Walter Seawell, B.A. Lincoln College, Oxford.

James Henry Stone, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Charles Stopford, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

DECEASED.

On Sunday, May 31, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the Right Reverend CHARLES LLOYD, D.D. Lord Bishop of OXFORD, and Regius Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church, in the University of Oxford, aged 45. He took his Degree of M.A. in May, 1809; B.D. in July, 1818, and D.D. in March, 1821.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
York.			
Ampleforth, V. . . .	York . .	Anth. Germain {	Preb. of Ampleforth, in the Cath. Ch.
London.			
Alresford, R. and Ingrave, R. . . . }	Essex . .	T. Newman, jun.	Rev. T. Newman.
Dunmow, Great, V. .	Essex . .	A. Richardson, D.D.	The Lord Bishop.
Hornsey, R. . . .	Middlesex .	Charles Sheppard	The Lord Bishop.
Minor Canonry in Cath. Church of St. Paul, London . . }	Middlesex .	Richard Webb {	The Dean and Chap- ter of St. Paul's.
Minor Canonry in Coll. Ch. of Westm. }			
Preb. of Islington, in the Cath. Ch. of St. Paul, London, and Allhallows, London }	Middlesex .	R. Nares, D.D. {	The Lord Bishop. Lord Chancellor.
Wall, R. . . . }			
Shenfield, R. . . .	Essex . .	Philip Salter . .	Countess de Grey.
Durham.			
Denton, C. . . .	Durham .	Thomas Peacock	V. of Gainford.
Simonburn, R. . . .	Northumb. .	David Evans .	Greenwich Hospital.
Winchester.			
Buriton, R. . . .	Hants . .	Brownlow Poulter	The Lord Bishop.
Carshalton, V. . . .	Surrey . .	Wm. Rose . .	John Cator, Esq.
Bath and Wells.			
Lydford, East, R. . .	Somerset .	Narcissus Ryall .	John Davis, &c.
Weston super Marc, R.	Somerset .	Fra. Blackburne	The Lord Bishop.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Bristol.			
Broadmayne, R. . .	Dorset . .	D. H. Urquhart	D. Urquhart, Esq.
Chichester.			
Westbourne, R. & V.	Sussex . .	W. D. Tattersall	Rev. L. Way.
Ely.			
Wilbraham, Great, V. .	Cambridge	John Stephenson	Rev. James Hicks.
Exeter.			
Hemiock, R. with Culm Davy Church } Prebend in Cath. Ch. of St. Mary Major, } Exeter, R. and } Upton Helion, R. }	Devon . . Exeter . . Devon . .	James Sparrow . } J. H. P. Polson	Mrs. Hutton. Dn. & Ch. of Exeter. Jos. Polson, Esq.
Gloucester.			
Alderley, R. . . . } and Brimsfield, R. } with Cranham, R. } Wootton-under-Edge, } V. }	Gloucester . Gloucester .	James Phelps . } W. D. Tattersall	Mr. and Mrs. Hale. E. Mount Edgecumbe. Christ Ch. Oxford.
Lich. & Coventry.			
Aldridge, R. . . . } Archd. of Stafford, and } Canonry in Cath. } Church of . . . } Wednesbury, V. . . } and Wore, C. . . }	Stafford . . Lichfield . Stafford . .	Wm. Scott . . Rob. Nares, D.D. A. B. Haden . }	Sir E. D. Scott, Bart. The Lord Bishop. Lord Chancellor. R. of Mucklestone.
Lincoln.			
Kensworth, V. . . .	Herts . .	Richard Webb }	D. & C. of St. Paul's, London.
Osbourne, V. . . .	Lincoln .	John Corrie .	Duke of Rutland.
Saddington, R. . . .	Leicester .	A. B. Haden .	Lord Chancellor.
Woodstone, R. . . .	Hunts . .	J. Bringhurst .	J. Bevis, Esq.
Landaff.			
Caerleon, V. . . .	Monmouth	John Thomas .	Archd. and Chapter.
Norwich.			
Campsey Ash, R. . . } and Barnham, R. } with Euston, R. . . }	. . . . . Suffolk . . Norfolk . .	. . . . . G. F. Tavel . } Geo. Kent . .	Sir J. Woodford, Bt. Duke of Grafton. Lord Ranelagh.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Peterborough.			
Barnwell, All Saints, R. } — St. Andrew, R. } and Waddenhoe, R. }	Northampt.	R. Roberts, D.D.	Lord Montagu.
Morcott, R.	Rutland	John Corrie . . .	Rev. Robert Roberts. Rev. E. Thorold.
Rochester.			
Beckenhem, R. . . .	Kent . . .	William Rose .	John Cator, Esq.
Dartford, V.	Kent . . .	Geo. Heberden .	The Lord Bishop.
Salisbury.			
Fordington, V. with } Writhlington, R. . }	Dorset . . .	John Palmer . }	Pr. of Fordington in C. C. of Salisbury.
Longbridge Deverell, V. } and Castle Eaton, R. }	Wilts . . .	H. Goddard, D.D. }	Marquess of Bath. Rev. T. Shepherd.
Minor Canonry in } Coll. Ch. of Windsor }	Berks . . .	Richard Webb }	Dean and Canons of Windsor.
Worcester.			
Ipsley, R. and } Tanworth, V. . }	Warwick .	Philip Wren . }	Rev. T. S. Dolben. Earl of Plymouth.
Wellsbourne, V. with } Walton Devile, R. }	Warwick .	J. H. Williams .	Lord Chancellor.

Name.	Residence.	County.
Breynton, J. H.	Clifton	Gloucester.
Buckham, P. W.	Oundle	Northampton.
Bussell, W.	Henley-upon-Thames	Oxford.
Best, George	Archdeacon of New Brunswick.	
Bradford, J. M. A.	Wallingford	Berks.
Chichester, Geo. A. F.	Northland	Sussex.
Clarke, Wm.	Mast. of East Bergholt Gram. School.	Suffolk.
Cookes, Denham, J. J.	Gatcombe House	Devon.
Evans, John	Chaplain of H. M. Ship <i>Java</i> , Madras Roads.	
Hall, J.	Minister of Eng. Ch. at Rotterdam.	
Hall, J. K.	Kettering	Northampton.
Hawkes, Samuel	Fellow of Trinity College	Cambridge.
Keysall, C. W.	Breedon	Worcester.
Lloyd, Richard	Towerhill	Limerick.
Luxmore, C. C.	Tavistock	Devon.
O'Grady, James	Rockbarton.	
Parker, Thomas	Edinburgh.	
Pugh, John	Hereford	Hereford
Rennell, William	Tarcross	Devon.
Smyth, C. W.	Norwich	Norfolk.
Waldron, George	Bayswater	Middlesex.
Ward, Joseph	Newport Pagnell	Bucks.
White, E.	Epperston	Notts.
Winterbotham, Wm.	Nailsworth.	
Witham, George	Durham	Durham.

MARRIED.

- Battiscombe, W., M.A. of Pembroke College, Oxford, to Elizabeth, third daughter of the Rev. J. Randolph.
- Belcher, Andrew, to Julia Letithea, third daughter of Ralph Wilson, Esq. of Islip House, Northamptonshire.
- Bell, Edward John, Vicar of Wickham Market, to Fanny, seventh daughter of the late Rev. J. Eyre, Rector of St. Giles's Reading.
- Brodrick, William John, to the Hon. Harriet Brodrick, third daughter of Viscount Middleton.
- Brownlow, William, M.A. of Pembroke College, Oxford, to Fanny, only daughter of R. S. Chambers, Esq. of the Middle Temple.
- Bushe, Charles, Rector of Castlehaven, in the diocese of Cork, second son of the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice, to Fanny Elizabeth, second daughter of the late James Bury, Esq. of St. Leonard's, Essex.
- Campbell, John, of Kingsland, to Miss Sturch, late of Newington-green.
- Cardwell, Edward, B.D. Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford, Camden Professor of Ancient History, and Rector of Stoke Bruern, Northamptonshire, to Cecilia, youngest daughter of the late Henry Feilden, Esq. of Witton House, Lancashire.
- Clinton, C. J. F., Rector of Cromwell, Notts, to Rosabella, youngest daughter of J. Matthews, Esq. Tynemouth, Northumberland.
- Coupland, W., Rector of Acton Beauchamp, Worcestershire, to Mary Ann, only child of the late Mr. Bourne, of Blackbrook, Staffordshire.
- Croker, Thomas, youngest son of Edward Croker, Esq. of Ballynegarde, county of Limerick, to Eliza, third daughter of Joseph Haigh, Esq. of Spring Wood, Yorkshire.
- Dod, Henry Hayman, M.A. of Worcester College, Oxford, to Frances Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the Rev. Dr. Holland, Precentor of Chichester, and granddaughter of the late Lord Chancellor Erskine, K.T. &c.
- Fosbroke, Yate, to Mary Ann, only child of Joseph Pain, Esq. of Neithrop, Oxfordshire.
- Freeland, Henry, Rector of Hasketon, Suffolk, to Georgiana Frances, second daughter of Charles Round, Esq. of Birch Hall, near Colchester.
- Harvey, R., Vicar of St. Lawrence, Ramsgate, to Mary Harriett, daughter of Mr. Thomas Wood, of Billericay.
- Hook, Walter Farquhar, M.A. Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, to Anna Delicia, eldest daughter of Dr. John Johnstone, of Galabank, N.B. and of Monument House, Edgebarton.
- Holmes, William Anthony, Rector of Moyne, in the county of Tipperary, to Sarah Caroline, second daughter of John Bond, Esq. of Cavendish-place, Bath.
- Hoper, H., M.A. of Portslade, Sussex, to Sarah, only daughter of the Rev. Richard Constable of Cowfield.
- Jackson, W., B.D. Rector of Lowther, in the county of Westmoreland, Vicar of St. James's, Whitehaven, and late Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Oxford, to Julia Eliza, daughter of T. G. Crumpe, Esq. of Liverpool.
- Jenkins, Evan, of Dowlais Iron-works, Glamorganshire, to Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of the late John Fothergill, Esq. of Tredegar Iron-works.
- Knipe, J., of Aldermaston, to Charlotte, youngest daughter of William Stephens, Esq. of Padworth.
- Lathbury, Thomas, M.A. of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, to Sarah, fifth daughter of Daniel Connor, Esq. of Norfolk Crescent.
- Long, Walter, M.A. of Oriel College, Oxford, Rector of Calloes, Wilts, youngest son of John Long, Esq. of Monckton Farleigh, Wilts, to Sarah Anne, eldest daughter of the Rev. Peter Gunning, Rector of Newton St. Loe, and of Bathwick.
- Lyne, Charles, son of the Rev. Richard Lyne, Rector of Little Petherick, Cornwall, to Harriet, fourth daughter of A. F. Nunery, Esq. of Basing Park, Hants.
- Marrington, Frederick, of Dummer, to Olivia, eldest daughter of Wm. Cox, Esq. of Wingrave.
- Maynard, Foster, eldest son of Capt. Maynard, of Melton, Suffolk, to Sophia, second

- daughter of the late John Clarkson, Esq. of Woodbridge.
- Nicholson, H. J. Boone, M.A. of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and one of the domestic chaplains to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, to Mary, youngest daughter of James Donaldson, Esq. of Bloomsbury Square.
- Owen, H. J., M.A. Minister of Park Chapel, Chelsea, to Angelica Francis, youngest daughter of John Bayford, Esq.
- Perceval, Charles George, third son of Lord Arden, and Rector of Calverton, Bucks, to Mary, only daughter of the Rev. Primate Knapp, Rector of Shenley, in the same county.
- Phillips, W. Spencer, B.D. Fellow and late Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford, and Minister of St. John's Church, Cheltenham, to Penelope, youngest daughter of the late Commodore Broughton, and niece of Sir John D. Broughton, Bart. of Doddington Hall, in the county of Chester.
- Redhead, J. R., of Ramalldkirk, Yorkshire, to Miss H. Bradfield, of Saffron Walden.
- Ross, G., M.A. of Lincoln College, Oxford, to Jane, daughter of the Rev. R. F. Gould, Rector of Luckham.
- Scott, J., B.A. of St. Edmund Hall, to Jane, daughter of Mr. Walker, of Holywell.
- Thackeray, F., M.A. to Mary Anne, the eldest daughter of the late J. Shakespear, Esq.
- Toplis, J., Rector of South Walsham, to Elizabeth, only daughter of Mr. William Smith, merchant, of that place.
- Tucker, W. M., M.A. late Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford, and Rector of All Saints, Colchester, to Agnes Sophia, youngest daughter of John Bax, Esq. of West Malling, Kent.
- Wenn, J. W., M.A. to Marianne Elizabeth, youngest daughter of John Benjafield, Esq.
- Wheat, C. C., to Louisa, youngest daughter of the late Sir Thomas Whichcote, Bart.
- Whitmore, C. B. C., M.A. Rector of Stockton, Salop, to Anne Barbara, fourth daughter of the late Thomas Giffard, Esq. of Chillington Hall, Staffordshire.
- Wilder, Henry, eldest son of John Wilder, Esq. of Purley Hall, Berkshire, to Augusta, eldest daughter of the late Charles Smith, Esq. of Sutton, Essex.
- Withey, Henry, M.A. to Christian Dottin, fourth daughter of the late Hon. Sir John Gay Alleyne, Bart. of Barbadoes.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE UNIVERSITIES.

OXFORD.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM APRIL TO JUNE INCLUSIVE.

DOCTOR IN DIVINITY

(*by diploma*).

March 25.

John Matthias Turner, M.A. Christ Church, Bishop of Calcutta.

April 30.

Charles T. Longley, late Student of Christ Church.

May 14.

Rev. James Webber, Christ Church, Dean of Rippon, and Prebendary of Westminster, Grand Compounder.

DOCTORS IN CIVIL LAW.

April 11.

Rev. Francis Warre, Rector of Cheddon Fitz-Payne, Somerset, and Prebendary of Wells, of Oriel College, Grand Compounder.

April 29.

J. W. Buller, late Fellow of All Souls' College.

BACHELORS IN DIVINITY.

April 29.

Rev. Charles Thomas Longley, late Student of Christ Church, now Head Master of Harrow School.

Rev. C. Dethick Blyth, Fellow of St. John's College.

Rev. W. A. Bouverie, Fellow of Merton College.

Rev. C. L. Swainson, Fellow of St. John's College.

May 20.

Rev. Herbert White, Fellow of Corpus Christi College.

June 18.

Rev. Alfred Butler Clough, Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College.

BACHELOR IN CIVIL LAW.

April 11.

Rev. John Cecil Hall, Student of Christ Church.

May 7.

Rev. John Flory Howard, M.A. Trinity College.

June 10.

W. H. Smith, Queen's College.

Mr. Edwards, B.C.L. of Cambridge, was admitted *ad eundem*.

June 18.

William Evans, Jesus College.

HONORARY MASTER OF ARTS.

April 11.

Thomas Pycroft, Esq. Commoner of Trinity College, (the successful candidate for the Wynn Writership).

MASTERS OF ARTS.

March 25.

Rev. A. Everingham Sketchley, Magdalen Hall.

Rev. John Downall, Magdalen Hall.

April 2.

Rev. John Sayer, Merton College.

April 11.

Rev. George Henry Stoddart, Queen's College.

Rev. Nathaniel Wodchouse, Merton College.

April 29.

Rev. R. Barton Robinson, Queen's College.

Rev. Henry Demain, Queen's College.

Rev. Wm. Orger, St. Edmund Hall.

Hon. Lloyd Kenyon, Christ Church.

Rev. P. Hansell, Scholar of University College.

Rev. Chas. Stone, Scholar of University College.

Rev. Wm. Ives, Balliol College.

Rev. Wm. Blundell, Brasenose Coll.

Robt. Price Morrell, Fellow Magdalen College.

Rev. James Peter Rhoades, Wadham College.

Henry Jas. Louis Williams, Magdalen Hall.

Rev. John Simon Jenkinson, Magdalen Hall.

Henry John Hutton, Magdalen Hall.

May 7.

Thomas Brown, Magdalen Hall.

Rev. W. Cartwright Kitson, Worcester College.

Rev. J. Hadley, Scholar of Worcester College.

George Clive, Brasenose College.

Wm. Rhodes Bernard, Balliol College.

May 14.

Rev. J. Jenkins, Merton College, Grand Compounder.

Rev. W. Lockwood, University College, Grand Compounder.

Thos. Percy Meade, Fellow of All Souls' College.

Rev. Richard Brickdale, Christ Church.

Rev. Hen. Oldershaw, Brasenose Coll.

Fretchville Lawson B. Dykes, Oriel Coll.

Rev. Henry Richards, Magdalen Hall.

May 20.

Thomas Ogier Ward, Queen's College.

Rev. H. J. Buckoll, Michel Scholar of Queen's College.

Rev. E. Girdlestone, Scholar of Balliol College.

Rev. Thos. Peach Holdich, Balliol Coll.

David Stott Meikleham, Balliol Coll.

Hon. J. Chetwynd Talbot, Student of Christ Church.

Rev. W. Dann Harrison, Worcester College.

Rev. Horace Chavasse, Worcester Col.

May 27.

William Allfree, Exeter College, Grand Compounder.

William George Lambert, Scholar of Corpus.

Francis John Moore, Exeter College.

Stephen Love Hammick, Christ Church.

Rev. Robert Henry King, Magdalen Hall.

Rev. Samuel Wilberforce, Oriel Coll.

Charles Henry John Anderson, Oriel College.

June 6.

The Rev. J. Missing, Magdalen Hall.

Rev. F. Annesley, St. John's College.

Rev. E. Trueman, Worcester College.

H. H. Bobart, Christ Church.

L. B. Wither, Oriel College.

June 10.

J. Johnes, Brasenose College, Grand Compounder.

Rev. A. Neate, Trinity College.

Rev. J. B. Gwyn, Jesus College.

J. Jones, Jesus College.

Rev. J. Price, Jesus College.

Rev. J. Trevelyan, St. Mary Hall.

Rev. N. Small, St. Mary Hall.

W. Jones, Christ Church.

Rev. J. Kynaston, Christ Church.

Rev. A. Browne, Christ Church.

Rev. R. Lewis, Magdalen Hall.

E. Ray, Brasenose College.

Rev. C. W. Pitt, Brasenose College.

Rev. G. Wylie, Queen's College.

Rev. S. Bellas, Queen's College.

Rev. J. West, Worcester College.

W. S. Bricknell, Worcester College.

Rev. C. Reed, Exeter College.

Rev. J. F. Hone, University College.

Rev. J. C. Campbell, University Coll.

J. L. Lamotte, Wadham College.

Rev. G. Lea, Wadham College.

Rev. R. Whitelock, Lincoln College.

Rev. H. M. Spence, Lincoln College.

D. Badham, Pembroke College.

W. J. Trower, Fellow of Oriel College.

June 18.

Rev. John Olive, Worcester College. (Grand Comp.)

Rev. Geo. Heron, Brasenose College.

Rev. Hen. Fowle, University College.

Rev. Wm. May Ellis, Christ Church.

William Dowdeswell, Christ Church.

Francis Valentine Woodhouse, Exeter College.

Rev. William Scott Robinson, Exeter College.

Rev. George Gregory Gardiner, Exeter College.

Rev. John Ley, Exeter College.

Rev. Hugh Willoughby, Exeter Coll.

Rev. Rich. Wilson Kemplay, Queen's College.

Rev. Wm. Tahourdin, Fellow of New College.

Rev. Peter Maurice, Chaplain of New College.

Rev. Heathfield Weston Hicks, Pembroke College.

Edward Benbow, Pembroke College.

Rev. Dan. Wilson, Wadham College.

William Purton, Trinity College.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

March 25.

Chas. Brandon Trye, Brasenose Coll.

May 7.

David Vavasar Durell, Christ Church, incorporated from Trinity College, Cambridge, Grand Compounder.

William Fisher, St. Edmund Hall.

Richard Fawcett, Lincoln College.

John Swainson, Brasenose College.

May 14.

Christopher Alderson, Magdalen Hall.
Marmaduke Robert Jeffreys, Christ Church.

Joseph Bonsor, Exeter College.

Robert Armitage, Worcester College.

John Richard F. Billingsley, Lincoln College.

Laurence Armistead, Lincoln College.

George Bellamy, Lincoln College.

John Cobbold Aldrich, Lincoln Coll.

Andrew Douglas Stacpoole, Fellow of New College.

Robert James Mackintosh, Fellow of New College.

Wm. Geo. Duncombe, Brasenose Coll.

Wm. Wilbraham Johnson, Brasenose College.

James Armistead, Wadham College.

Chas. David Badham, B.A. of Emanuel College, Cambridge, was incorporated of Pembroke College.

May 20.

Charles Dowding, Queen's College.

George Weare Bush, Queen's College.

John Dinning, Queen's College.

Rev. Arthur Bromiley, St. Edmund Hall.

Chas. Egerton Dukinfield, Magdalen Hall.

Charles Kyd Bishop, Magdalen Hall.

William Brown Clark, University Coll.

Geo. Herbert Cotton, Worcester Coll.

John Clervaux Chaytor, Worcester Coll.

Wm. Wilcox Clarke, Wadham College.

Wm. York Draper, Wadham College.

Edw. Thomas, Wadham College.

Chas. Jno. Birch, Fellow of St. John's College.

Jno. Garratt Bussell, Trinity College.

Sir John T. B. Duckworth, Oriel Coll.

Harris Jervoise Bigg Withier, Oriel Coll.

May 27.

Wm. Nigel Gresley, St. Mary Hall.

Thos. Farebrother, Queen's College.

Richard Croft, Scholar of Balliol Coll.

James Dennis, Exeter College.

Francis Ossian Durant, Worcester Coll.

Henry Davison, Scholar of Trinity Coll.

Howel Gwyn, Trinity College.

Chas. Powell, Trinity College.

June 6.

W. Webb Ellis, Brasenose College.

E. A. Waller, Brasenose College.

B. V. Townshend, Brasenose College.

E. N. Orme, St. Mary Hall.

W. Lloyd, Jesus College.

C. Lloyd, Jesus College.

W. Bowling, Jesus College.

T. Lewis, Jesus College.

J. Forbes, Oriel College.

J. H. Hallett, Oriel College.

O. C. Huntley, Oriel College.

G. R. Marriott, Oriel College.

R. B. Wilson, University College.

W. H. Roper, University College.

H. Matthie, Pembroke College.

J. Lister, Worcester College.

C. Marriott, Queen's College.

J. Lawson, St. Alban Hall.

H. Mogg, Exeter College.

A. C. Bridge, Exeter College.

C. Moore, Exeter College.

T. W. Martyn, Exeter College.

W. Littlehales, Exeter College.

W. H. Mackworth, Balliol College.

W. S. Lendon, Christ Church.

Sir Thos. F. Bogley, Bart. Christ Church.

Sir Jno. Mordaunt, Bart. Christ Church.

E. Hulse, Christ Church.

C. J. Laprimandaye, St. John's Coll.

H. Flesher, Lincoln.

June 10.

Hon. A. J. Ashley Cooper, Christ Church.

C. O. Mayne, Christ Church.

S. C. J. Berdmore, Christ Church.

W. Moore, Christ Church.

R. Heelis, Queen's College.

W. Leech, Queen's College.

W. Hutton, Queen's College.

M. Burnham, Queen's College.

H. T. Streeten, Queen's College.

J. Tardiffe, Queen's College.

H. Sweeting, Queen's College.

J. K. Simpkinson, Balliol College.

C. T. Dawson, Balliol College, Grand Compounder.

C. T. Cary, Magdalen Hall.

E. Bagnall, Magdalen Hall.

F. Reyroux, St. Edmund Hall.

R. Stranger, Pembroke College.

W. Gilkes, Pembroke College, (Grand Comp.)

E. Williams, Jesus College.

T. Davies, Jesus College.

W. D. Phillips, Jesus College.

J. Roberts, Jesus College.

R. Suckling, Exeter College.

C. T. James, Exeter College.

Hallorshead, Exeter College.

G. Kennard, St. Alban Hall.

E. E. Blencowe, St. Alban Hall.

A. Stewart, St. Alban Hall.

D. Lang, St. Alban Hall.

E. Lilley, Worcester College.

G. J. Quarmly, Lincoln College.

G. J. Gould, Lincoln College.

E. Meade, Wadham College.

A. T. Corfe, All Souls College.

J. Pope, St. John's College.

H. Horn, St. John's College.

G. E. Smith, St. John's College.

June 13.

Samuel Hooper Whittuck, St. Mary's Hall.

Alfred Hadfield, St. Mary Hall.

James Fletcher West, Scholar of Brasenose College.

Henry Champion, Brasenose College.

John Samuel Williams, Jesus College.

William Williams, Jesus College.

Septimus Henry Palairot, Worcester College.

Edward Fitzgerald, Balliol College.

John Ekins, Balliol College.

Harry Buckland Lott, Balliol College.

Jacob Wood, Postmaster of Merton College.

Edward Martin Atkins, Demy of Magdalen College.

Rob. Jones, Oades' Exhibitioner, Pembroke College.

Brooke William Robert Boothby, Student of Christ Church.

Cha. Baring, Student of Christ Church.

The Earl of Ossory, Christ Church.

Wm. Rob. Freemantle, Christ Church.

William Syns, Wadham College.

Henry Wells, Trinity College.

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

The Encænïa, or Celebration of Founders and Benefactors, in the Theatre, has been fixed by the Board of Heads of Houses and Proctors, for Wednesday the 1st of July. The Professor of Poetry (Mr. Milman) will deliver the Crewian Oration.

March 25.

In Convocation the sum of £200 was voted from the University Chest, in aid of certain improvements and repairs about to be made to the apartments occupied by the Professor of Chemistry in the Ashmolean Museum.

April 2.

Francis Pearson Walesby, Esq. B.C.L. Fellow of Lincoln College, was elected Professor of Anglo-Saxon, in the room of the Rev. Arthur Johnson, M.A. Fellow of Wadham College, who has vacated by marriage.

April 11.

In Congregation this day the following gentlemen were respectively nominated Public Examiners:—

In Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis.

Rev. Augustus Page Saunder, M.A. Student of Christ Church.

In Literis Humanioribus.

Rev. Renn Dickson Hampden, M.A. late Fellow of Oriel College.

Rev. John Carr, M.A. Fellow of Balliol College.

April 24.

Thomas Mozley, Esq. B.A. and John Frederick Christie, Esq. B.A. of Oriel College, were elected Fellows of that Society.

May 4.

The nomination of the Rev. Ashhurst Turner Gilbert, D.D. Principal of Brasenose, to be a Perpetual Delegate of Privileges, was approved in Convocation.

May 7.

Richard Michell, Esq. M.A. of Wadham College, was nominated a Public Examiner in *Literis Humanioribus*.

May 9.

The Electors appointed to decide on the respective merits of the candidates for the three Craven Scholarships, lately vacated by lapse of time, declared their

choice to fall on the following gentlemen:—

Wm. Hen. Johnson, Commoner of Worcester College, as of kin to the Founder.

Jno. Thomas, Commoner of Wadham College.

Fred. Rogers, Commoner of Oriel Col.

May 19.

The Rev. Chas. Kevern Williams, M.A. Fellow of Pembroke College, was nominated a Public Examiner in *Disciplina Mathematicis et Physicis*.

May 20.

The Rev. John Collier Jones, D.D. Rector of Exeter College, and Vice-Chancellor of the University, was elected Curator of the Sheldonian Theatre, in the room of the Very Rev. the Dean of Exeter, resigned.

June 5.

In Convocation, this day, the new plan for the establishment of an efficient University Police was approved of, and will be carried into effect in the next Michaelmas Term. Its chief feature is the appointment by the Vice-Chancellor (under the Act 6 Geo. IV. c. 97.) of fifteen constables (or Vice-Chancellor's men) who will be required to keep watch and ward in their respective rounds, to prevent burglaries, breaches of the peace, &c. &c., as well as to assist (when called upon) in putting down any disturbance in the daytime, and in preserving order at public academical celebrities. The funds requisite for this establishment are to be raised by a tax of one shilling per quarter on every member of the University whose name is on the books.

June 11.

The annual election of Scholars from Merchant Taylor's School to St. John's College took place, when the following gentlemen were nominated:—

Jno. Saltwell Pinkerton, Edw. Wm. Vaughan, and John Joseph Pratt, to be Probationary Scholars; Seth Benj. Watson, and Jno. Francis Boyes, to be Andrews's Exhibitioners; and Francis Jno. Kitson, Stuart's Exhibitor.

The Regius Professorship of Divinity in the University, to which are annexed a Canonry of Christ Church and the Rectory of Ewelme, Oxfordshire, has been conferred on the Rev. Edw. Burton, B.D. late Student of Christ Church, and Chaplain to the late Bishop of this diocese.

The Proctors for the ensuing year have been admitted by the Vice-Chancellor.

SENIOR PROCTOR.

The Rev. Jas. Thos. Round, M.A. Fellow of Balliol College, presented by the Rev. Dr. Jenkyns, Master of Balliol College.

JUNIOR PROCTOR.

The Rev. Robt. Alder Thorp, M.A. Fellow of Corpus Christi College, presented by the Rev. Dr. Bridges, President of Corpus Christi College.

The Pro-Proctors respectively nominated are:—By Mr. Round—the Rev. Geo. Fuller Thomas, M.A. Worcester College, and the Rev. Jno. Mitchell Chapman, M.A. Fellow of Balliol College. By Mr. Thorp—The Rev. William Glaister, M.A. Fellow of University College, and the Rev. Jno. Wm. Hughes, M.A. Trinity College.

The Rev. Edward Dunkin Scott, M.A. of Queen's College, has been admitted actual Fellow of that Society.

Mr. Geo. Waddington has been admitted Scholar of New College.

The Rev. Hen. Soames, M.A. of Wadham College, has been appointed by the Heads of Colleges to preach the Bampton Lecture Sermons for the year 1830.

June 15, (being Trinity Monday).

The following gentlemen were elected Scholars of Trinity College:—Messrs. Thomas Leigh Cloughton, Trinity College; Alfred Menzies, Worcester College; Nutcombe Oxnam, Oriel College; William Laxton, Trinity College; — Richards, from Eton School, Scholars on the Old Foundation; and Mr. Guillemand, from Tiverton School, Blount's Scholar. The Rev. J. M. Echallaz, M.A. elected Probationary Fellow.

June 18.

The nomination by the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors of the Rev. Edward Burton, B.D. of Christ Church, to be a Delegate of the University Press, in the room of late Bishop of Oxford, was approved in Convocation.

PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS.

Easter Term.

The names of those candidates who, at the close of the Public Examinations in Easter Term, were admitted by the Public

Examiners into the three Classes of Literæ Humaniores et Disciplinæ Mathematicæ et Physicæ respectively, according to the alphabetical arrangement in each Class, prescribed by the statute, stand as follow :

LITERÆ HUMANIORES.

First Class.

Baring, Charles, Christ Church.
Dayman, Edw. Arthur, Exeter College.
Jacob, Geo. Andrew, Worcester Coll.
Porah, Francis, St. John's College.

Second Class.

Armitstead, James, Wadham College.
Clarke, Wm. Wilcox, Wadham College.
Croft, Richard, Balliol College.
Dennis, James, Exeter College.
Huntley, Osmond Cha. Oriel College.
Lawson, John, St. Alban's Hall.
Meade, Edward, Wadham College.
Nicholson, William, Trinity College.
Palaret, Septimus H. Worcester Coll.
Pigott, John Dryden, Christ Church.
Richardson, John, Queen's College.
Sealy, John, Exeter College.
Syms, William, Wadham College.

Third Class.

Abbott, William, Queen's College.
Aldrich, John, Lincoln College.
Berdmore, Samuel Cha. James, Christ Church.
Corfe, Arthur Tho. All Souls' College.
Duckworth, Sir John T. B. Bart. Oriel College.
Ellis, Wm. Webb, Brasenose College.
Forbes, James, Oriel College.
Horn, Henry, St. John's College.
Jones, Robert, Pembroke College.
Lang, Dashwood, St. Alban's Hall.
Laprimandaye, Charles John, St. John's College.
Philpotts, Wm. John, Oriel College.
Worsley, William, Magdalen Hall.

R. D. Hampden,
Daniel Veyrie,
J. Loscombe Richards,
Thomas T. Churton,
J. Carr,
R. Michell.

EXAMINERS.

DISCIPLINÆ MATHEMATICÆ ET PHYSICÆ.

First Class.

Baring, Charles, Christ Church.
Corfe, Arth. Tho. All Souls' College.
Johnson, Wm. Wilbraham Brasenose College.
Madan, George, Christ Church.

Second Class.

Dennis, James, Exeter College.
Webb, Thomas Wm. Magdalen Hall.
Winterbottom, Rich. Townsend, Balliol College.

R. Walker,
A. P. Saunders, } EXAM.
C. R. Willams.

The number of the Fourth Class, namely, of those who were deemed worthy of their Degree, but not deserving of any honourable distinction, was 138.

PRIZES.

CHANCELLOR'S PRIZES.

[Three of £20 each, for the best compositions in Latin verse, Latin prose, and English prose.]

Subject (Latin Verse):—

“ M. T. Cicero cum familiaribus suis apud Tusculum.”

Adjudged to
Mr. Wilmot, Scholar of Balliol College.

English Essay:—

“ The power and stability of federative governments.”

Adjudged to
Mr. Denison, Fellow of Oriel College.

Latin Essay:—

“ Quibus potissimum rationibus gentes a Romanis debellatæ ita afficerentur, ut cum victoribus in unius imperii corpus coaluerint.”

Adjudged to
Mr. Sewell, Fellow of Exeter College.

SIR ROGER NEWDIGATE'S PRIZE.

English Verse.—Subject:—

“ Voyages of Discovery to the Polar Regions.”

Adjudged to
Mr. Claughton, Scholar of Trinity College.

REV. DR. ELLERTON'S THEOLOGICAL PRIZE.

[Of £21 annually for the best English Essay on some doctrine or duty of the Christian Religion, or on some of the points on which we differ from the Romish Church, or on any other subject of Theology which shall be deemed meet and useful.]

Subject:—

“ What were the causes of the persecutions to which the Christians were subject in the first centuries of Cristianity?”

Adjudged to
Mr. Wm. Jacobson, B.A. Lincoln College.

CAMBRIDGE.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM APRIL TO JUNE INCLUSIVE.

DOCTOR IN DIVINITY.

May 6.

The Rev. Joseph Allen, Trinity College,
Prebendary of Westminster.

At the same congregation, Dr. Chas.
R. Elrington, Professor of Divinity in the
University of Dublin, was admitted D.D.
ad eundem.

BACHELORS IN DIVINITY.

April 3.

Robt. Black, Trinity College.

May 6.

Rev. Jas. Blomfield, Emmanuel Coll.

Rev. Chas. Wesley, Christ College,
Alternate Minister of St. Mary's Chapel,
Fulham.

June 11.

Rev. Edw. Duncan Rhodes, Fellow of
Sidney College.

Rev. Edw. Boteler, Fellow of Sidney
College.

Rev. Chas. Smith, Fellow of St. Peter's
College.

Rev. Thos. Hartwell Horne, St. John's
College.

Rev. Geo. Hull Bowers, Clare Hall.

Rev. Wm. Thomas, Jesus College.
(Comp.)

Rev. Thos. Jones, St. John's College.

BACHELORS IN CIVIL LAW.

April 3.

Rev. R. Adolphus Musgrave, Trinity
College.

Geo. Luxton, St. Peter's Coll.

Rev. Edw. Bethell Cox, Christ College.

May 6.

Rev. Paul Ashmore, Christ College.

May 27.

Rev. Richard M'Donald Caunter, Sid-
ney Sussex College.

June 11.

Richard Cargill, Catharine Hall.

Fredenic Trotter, Christ College.

HONORARY MASTERS OF ARTS.

April 3.

Hon. Thomas Hugh Nugent, Corpus
Christi College, second son of the late Earl
of Westmeath.

May 27.

Lord Wriothlesley Russel, Trinity Col-
lege, son of the Duke of Bedford.

Lord Norreys, Trinity College, son of
the Earl of Abingdon.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

May 6.

Henry Ashington, Trinity College.

Howard Elphinstone, Trinity College.

William Keeling, Fellow of St. John's
College.

W. Hallows Miller, Fellow of St. John's
College.

Rev. Henry William Crick, Jesus Coll.

Henry Alexander Brown, Christ Coll.

Thomas Kenyon, Christ Coll. (Comp.)

Rev. A. H. Small, Fellow of Emmanuel
College.

May 27.

Rev. John Gautier Milne, St. Peter's
College.

Rev. Edward Murray, Trinity College.

Francis Ford Pinder, Trinity College.

Frederick Osborne, Trinity Hall.

Rev. John Phillips, Sidney College.

Rev. Samuel Bagnall, Downing Col-
lege. (Grand Comp.)

At the above Congregation the Rev.
Samuel Smith, M.A. of Christ Church,
Oxford, was admitted *ad eundem* of this
University.

June 11.

Rev. William Metcalf, Fellow of St.
John's College.

J. A. D. Meakin, St. John's College.

Rev. C. W. Hughes, Corpus Christi
College. (Comp.)

Rev. William Powley, Jesus College.
(Comp.)

Rev. Abr. T. R. Vicary, Jesus College.

M. A. INCEPTORS.

April 3.

William Law, Fellow of Trinity Coll.
John Hodgson, Fellow of Trinity Coll.
Marmaduke Prickett, Trinity College.
Henry Collins, Trinity College.
Rev. E. Bowyer Sparke, Fellow of St. John's College.
John Hymers, Fellow of St. John's College.
Henry Jesson, St. John's College.
Rev. Charles Dilmott Hill, St. Peter's College.
Rev. Robert South, Pembroke College.
Richard Trott Fisher, Fellow of Pembroke College.
Rev. W. H. Hanson, Fellow of Caius College.
Rev. Robert Willis, Fellow of Caius College.
Rev. Henry Clinton, Fellow of Caius College.
Rev. Ralph Clutton, Fellow of Emmanuel College.
Rev. John Gibson, Fellow of Sidney College.
William Gardon, Downing College.

LICENTIATES IN PHYSIC.

April 3.

William Crosbie Mair, Jesus College.
Heneage Gibbes, Downing College.

May 27.

Wm. Joseph Bayne, Fellow of Trinity College.
Nicholas Francis Davison, Caius Coll.

BACHELORS IN PHYSIC.

May 27.

Alexander L. Wollaston, Caius Coll.
James F. Bernard, Corpus Christi Coll.
Francis Ker Fox, St. John's College.

June 11.

Alexander Murray, St. John's College.
Algernon Frampton, St. John's College.
Thomas Briggs, Caius College.
Frederick Johnstone, Jesus College.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

April 3.

Robert Forsayeth, Trinity College.
Charles Longuet Higgins, Trinity Coll.
H. Fullelove Mogridge, St. John's Coll.
Solomon Gompertz, St. John's Coll.
John Samuel Scobell, St. Peter's Coll.

Horatio Nelson William Comyn, Caius College.
Hippesley Maclean, Caius College.
Adam Fitch, Christ College.

May 6.

George Henry Feachem, Trinity Coll.
Robert Devey, Trinity College.
Calnady Pollexfen Hamlyn, Trinity College.
Cha. Henry Templeton, Trinity Coll.
William Henry Tudor, Trinity College.
Thomas Moore, St. John's College.
William Geo. Nott, St. John's College.
Thomas Storer, St. John's College.
Francis J. Courtenay, St. Peter's Coll.
William Ludlow, St. Peter's College.
Thomas Moore, St. Peter's College.
Horace Pitt Shewell, St. Peter's Coll.
Thornhill Heathcote, Clare Hall.
Edward Ethelstone, Pembroke College.
Charles Fox Chawner, Corpus Christi College.
John Hooper, Corpus Christi College.
Geo. Wm. Straton, Corpus Christi Coll.
Jas. King Went, Corpus Christi Coll.
Richard Bethel Boyes, Queen's Coll.
James Mellor Brown, Queen's College.
Joseph Brown, Queen's College.
Charles Clark, Queen's College.
John Hodgson Steble, Queen's College.
Richard Taylor, Queen's College.
Bryan S. Broughton, Christ College.
James Penfold, Christ College.
Allen Allicock Young, Magdalen Coll.
Thomas James Rocke, Downing Coll.

May 27.

John Wolvey Astley, King's College.
Charles Luxmore, King's College.
Thomas Phillpotts, King's College.
Charles Waymouth, Trinity College.
Henry Bowyer, Trinity College.
Francis Rodd, Trinity College.
Charles Bigsby, Trinity College.
George Gordon, Caius College.
James Richard Holden, Christ College.
John Gwalter Palaint, Christ College.

June 11.

William Whitear, St. John's College.
Frederick Elwes, Pembroke College.
James Abbott, Queen's College.
George Kember, Queen's College.
Henry William Stuart, Queen's Coll.
Thomas Brand, Magdalen College.

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

JUNIOR SOPHS' EXAMINATION, LENT TERM, 1829.

EXAMINERS.

William Joseph Bayne, M. A. Trin. Coll.

Charles Smith, M. A. St. Peter's Coll.

James Amiraux Jeremie, M. A. Trin. Coll.

John Frederick Isaacson, M. A. St. John's Coll.

FIRST CLASS.

Adams, R. B. Trin.	Clay, Trin.	Flowers, Jcs.	James, Joh.
Alcock, Joh.	Clutterbuck, Pet.	Forster, Tr. H.	Jebb, Trin.
Alderson, Joh.	Cockerton, Joh.	Fosbrooke, Trin.	Jebb, Pet.
Aldis, Trin.	Codrington, Jes.	Foster, Trin.	Jenner, Trin. H.
Amphlett, Pet.	Colville, Trin.	Fraser, Pet.	Jerwood, Joh.
Anderson, Trin.	Cookesley, Trin.	French, Caius	Johnstone, Caius
Askew, Emm.	Cortfield, Clare.	Frost, Cath.	Jones, Cath.
Atkinson, Joh.	Cottle, Cath.	Galliehan, Joh.	Jones, J. Joh.
Bacon, Corpus.	Cox, Emma.	Gardner, Qu.	Jones, sen. Trin.
Baker, Corpus.	Crossley, Magd.	Gaskell, Corpus	Keeble, Joh.
Bainbridge, Cath.	Crotty, Pet.	Gaskin, Joh.	Kennedy, Trin.
Baldwin, Trin.	Crutchley, Magd.	Geary, Trin.	Kirkness, Qu.
Ball, Qu.	Curtis, Chr.	George, Sid.	Klammart, Pet.
Banning, Tr. H.	Daniell, Chr.	Gilpin, Qu.	Knipe, Qu.
Bateman, Joh.	Darby, Pet.	Gleadow, Chr.	Laurie, Pet.
Bayford, Tr. H.	Davies, S. J. Trin.	Gonne, Trin.	Lees, Joh.
Bedford, Joh.	Dawkins, Cath.	Good, Qu.	Le Gros, Down.
Beddingfield, Tr.	Degex, Jes.	Gossip, Trin.	Leigh, Qu.
Bennett, Corpus.	Delamare, Caius	Gould, Magd.	Lendrum, Trin.
Bernall, Trin.	Delap, Trin.	Gouthwaite, Cor.	Lewis, Qu.
Birch, Joh.	Dixon, Corpus	Graham, Chr.	Liardet, Qu.
Blade, Magd.	Dodson, Trin.	Grazebrooke, Jes.	Lister, Trin.
Blakesley, Corp.	Doveton, Down.	Greville, Clare	Lloyd, Trin.
Blanc, Trin.	Douglas, Joh.	Grey, Job.	Lloyd, Magd.
Bond, Qu.	Drake, Trin.	Gome, Pemb.	Lockwood, Trin.
Bonnin, Qu.	Dudley, Cath.	Groom, Tr. H.	Long, Chr.
Booty, Trin.	Eade, Jesus	Harman, Caius	Longhurst sen. Qu.
Borron, Trin.	Earnshaw, Joh.	Harrison, Trin.	Longhurst jun.
Borton, sen. Cai.	Eaton, Joh.	Harrison, W. Caius	Longmire, Pet.
Borton, jun. Cai.	Ebden, Trin. H.	Harvey, Clare	Lord, Trin.
Brome, Trin.	Ellis, Joh.	Hasted, Magd.	Lowndes, Trin.
Brown, Qu.	Entwisle, T. Tr.	Havens, Corpus	Lowthorpe, Qu.
Brown, Trin.	Entwisle, W. Tr.	Heaton, Cath.	Lugard, Trin.
Budd, Caius	Essen, Qu.	Hesketh, Trin. H.	Luttrell, Pemb.
Bull, Qu.	Evans, Qu.	Hicks, Magd.	Lyne, Sid.
Bull, Joh.	Evans, Qu.	Hill, Clare	Maber, Clare
Bullock, Clare	Ewen, Corpus	Hill, R. L. Joh.	McClintock, Trin.
Burgess, Qu.	Eyres, Caius	Hillyard, Trin.	McLachlan, Sid.
Butler, Magd.	Favell, Qu.	Hine, Corpus	Mackereth, Cath.
Cantis, Chr.	Fearon, Cath.	Hoare, Joh.	Mann, Joh.
Carlyon, Pemb.	Fell, Pet.	Hockin, Joh.	Marsh, Qu.
Charlton, Joh.	Fellowes, Joh.	Hockin, Pemb.	Marsh, Pemb.
Chatfield, Trin.	Findlater, Chr.	Hudson, Cath.	Matthews, Sid.
Cheadle, Qu.	Finley, Trin.	Hulkes, Joh.	Mason, H. Trin.
Child, Joh.	Fisher, Jesus	Hunt, de Vere, Tr.	Mason, H. P. Trin.
Childe, Joh.	Fisher, Chr.	Hutchinson, Clare	Mason, W. Trin.
Choppin, Joh.	Fitzroy, Trin.	Hutton, Trin.	Mayhew, Trin.
Churton, Down.	Fletcher, Joh.	Isaac, Trin.	Moller, Trin.
Clarke, Sid.		Jackson, N. T. Chr.	Meryweather, Tr.

Mills, sen. Pemb.	Poole, Emman.	Spooner, Clare	Wallace, Trin.
Mills, jun. Pemb.	Porteous, Chr.	Stacye, Chr.	Waller, Qu.
Minty, Caius.	Powell, C. Trin.	Stanton, Chr.	Walpole, Trin.
Morey, Trin.	Powell, R. Trin.	Stephens, Clare.	Walsh, Trin.
Morgan, Sid.	Power, Joh.	Stoddard, Corp.	Ward, Trin.
Morris, Sid.	Price, Joh.	Street, Qu.	Warren, Trin.
Mort, Sid.	Pricket, Trin.	Swann, Emman.	Warren, Qu.
Nash, Trin.	Rhodes, Tr. H.	Symons, Corpus	Watts, G. Qu.
Nelson, Corpus	Richardson, Joh.	Tate, Magd.	Webster, Clare
Nettleship, Corpus.	Richmond, Qu.	Tatham, Magd.	Wegg, Joh.
Newall, Trin.	Rickards, Chr.	Tebbutt, Cath.	Weguelin, Emman
Newby, Joh.	Rigge, Corpus.	Tenison, Corpus	Wells, Trin. H.
Nicholson, Joh.	Riley, Joh.	Tennant, A. Tr.	West, Trin.
Norgate, Caius.	Rimell, Joh.	Tennyson, C. Tr.	Westmacott, Cor.
Oakes, Emman.	Rock, Joh.	Tennyson, Trin.	Whiston, Trin.
Okes, Sid.	Rogers, Trin.	Thomas, Down.	Whitaker, Emman.
Oldacres, Emman.	Ross-Lewin, Cath.	Thompson, Trin.	Whittington, Pemb.
Oliver, S. Pet.	Rough, Trin.	Thomson, Jes.	Whytehead, Joh.
Oliver, W. Pet.	Roupell, Trin. H.	Thomson, J. R. Joh.	Wilde, Corpus.
Oldham, Jes.	Scott, Trin.	Tidemore, Tr. H.	Wiley, Joh.
Oldknow, Chr.	Selwin, Joh.	Tollemache, Pet.	Wilmer, Chr.
Orme, Jes.	Serjeant, Qu.	Tottenham, Joh.	Wilson, Emman.
Otter, Chr.	Shadwell, J. E. Joh.	Touzel, Sid.	Wingfield, Emman.
Otley, Caius.	Sharply, Emman.	Tripe, Corpus	Winter, Corpus.
Owston, Qu.	Sheppard, Trin.	Turner, Chr.	Wood, Trin. H.
Paget, Caius.	Simpson, Trin.	Tyrrell, Joh.	Worledge, Trin.
Paton, Trin.	Skinner, Trin.	Vawdrey, Joh.	Wormald, Trin.
Pawsey, Emman.	Skinner, Qu.	Venables, Emman.	Wyche, Qu.
Pearson, A. H. Qu.	Slade, Caius.	Vidall, Caius	Yelloly, Trin.
Peill, Qu.	Smith, E. F. Chr.	Wade, R. C. Trin.	Yorke, Chr.
Perry, Trin.	Smith, sen. Sid.	Walker, S. Trin.	
Pickwood, Pet.	Smythies, Trin.	Walker, Chr.	
Pitman, Trin.	Spedding, Trin.	Walker, Tr. H.	

SECOND CLASS.

Adams, P. B. Trin.	Carew, Downing.	Handley, Trin.	Plummer, Jesus.
Barker, Cath.	Cookson, Corpus.	Hawkins, Joh.	Proctor, Chr.
Baylis, Sid.	Dixon, Cath.	Hildyard, Clare.	Radclyffe, Pemb.
Beaumont, Trin.	Drinkald, Chr.	Hole, Pemb.	Read, Trin.
Bedwell, Trin.	Edgell, Joh.	Hollon, Corpus.	St. Aubin, Trin.
Biddulph, Pet.	Fenn, Qu.	Lawrence, Trin.	St. John, Down.
Bird, Corpus.	Garlike, Clare.	Mogg, Caius.	Taylor, Trin. H.
Blackburn, Jes.	Gisborne, Pet.	Moore, W. Joh.	Westbrook, Cath.
Bowen, Pet.	Granville, Trin.	Oxley, Pemb.	Wharton, Trin.
Bower, Pet.	Griesbach, Trin.	Pardoe, Caius.	Woodward, Joh.
Brocklebank, Qu.	Harris, Trin.	Pigot, Joh.	Woodyear, Chr.

April 3.

The Syndicate appointed to treat with the Provost and Fellows of King's College, for the purchase of their *Old Court*, having reported to the Senate "That the College have expressed themselves willing to accept from the University £12,000 for the Site and Buildings of the Old Court, and the Syndicate having strongly recommended the University to agree to those terms, a Grace to the following effect passed the Senate:—

To adopt the recommendation of the

Syndicate appointed to treat with the Provost and Fellows of King's College for the purchase of their Old Court, to empower the Vice-Chancellor to take the requisite steps to complete the purchase, and to affix the University Seal to the deeds of transfer.

Also a Grace to the following effect:—

To affix the University Seal to a receipt for a legacy of £5000, left to the University by the late Rev. John Manistre, Fellow of King's College, to purchase books for the Public Library.

Same day W. H. Miller, B.A.; W. Keeling, B.A.; C. Yate, B.A.; E. Peacock, B.A.; and W. Selwyn, B.A. were elected Foundation Fellows, and F. E. Gretton, B.A. Platt Fellow, of St. John's College.

April 21.

George Thackeray, Scholar of King's College, was admitted Fellow of that Society.

April 22.

In Convocation for the election of Proctors, the offices having become vacant by resignation, the Rev. Henry Kirby, M.A. Fellow of Clare Hall, and the Rev. Joseph Power, M.A. Fellow of Trinity Hall, were elected Proctors for the remainder of the year.

April 30.

The following gentlemen of Trinity College were elected Scholars of that Society:

Carey	Burcham	Spedding
Tate	Walker	Tennant
Myers	Wilkinson	Kennedy
Mann	Meller	—
Taylor	Dashwood	<i>Westm. Schol.</i>
Quayle	Chatfield	Dyott
Ponsonby	Worlledge	Allen.

May 2.

The Rev. Robert Willis, M.A. Junior Fellow of Caius College, was elected a Senior Fellow; Joseph Henry Jerrard, B.A. a Frankland Fellow; and Robert Murphy, B.A. a Perse Fellow of that Society.

Same day the Rev. Alexander Henry Small, M.A. was admitted a Fellow on the foundation of Sir Wolston Dixie, at Emmanuel College; and William Royde Colbeck, B.A. Scholar of Emmanuel College, was elected a Fellow of that Society.

May 6.

Graces to the following effect passed the Senate:—

To appoint Mr. Dawes of Downing College, and Mr. Green of Jesus College, Pro-Proctors for the remainder of the year.

To appoint the Vice-Chancellor, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Master of Catharine Hall, Professor Haviland, Professor Whewell, Mr. Carrighan of St. John's College, Mr. Hustler of Jesus College, Mr. Peacock of Trinity College, Mr. Shelford of Corpus Christi College, Mr. Lodge of Magdalen College, and Mr. King of Queen's College, a Syndicate to consider

of the arrangements to be made concerning the Old Court lately purchased of King's College.

May 27.

Graces to the following effect passed the Senate:—

To appoint the Vice-Chancellor, the Master of Jesus College, Dr. Turtton, the Public Orator, Mr. Peacock of Trinity College, Mr. Shelford of Corpus Christi College, Mr. Graham of Christ College, Mr. Thorp of Trinity College, and Mr. Crick of St. John's College, a Syndicate to consider what alteration it is expedient to make in the mode of conducting the Previous Examination, and to report thereupon to the Senate before the end of the present Term.

To appoint the Vice-Chancellor, the Master of Catharine Hall, the Master of Clare Hall, Mr. Carrighan of St. John's College, Mr. Hustler of Jesus College, and Mr. Hildyard of Trinity Hall, a Syndicate to confer with the Provost and Fellows of King's College respecting the laying out of the ground in the front of King's College and the Public Library.

June 11,

In Congregation a Grace passed the Senate to allow the Assistant at the Observatory a salary of £80 a year.

John Tinkler, George King, and James Goodwin, Bachelors of Arts, of Corpus Christi College, have been elected Fellows of that Society.

Henry Philpott, Esq. B.A. has been elected a Foundation Fellow of Catharine Hall.

June 16.

The election of a Representative for this University, in the room of Sir N. C. Tindal, now Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, commenced this day, and terminated at five o'clock on the 18th, when the numbers were, for

Mr. Cavendish.....	609
Mr. Bankes.....	462

Majority in favour of Mr. Cavendish 147

The total number of votes polled at this election exceeds that at the last contest in the year 1827 by 214.

The following gentlemen are appointed Barnaby Lecturers for the ensuing year:

Mathematical.—Rev. Joseph H. Harris, M.A. Clare Hall.

Philosophical.—Rev. William Hildyard, M.A. Trinity Hall.

Rhetorical.—Rev. Cha. Currie, M. A. Pembroke College.

Logical.—Rev. C. H. Maturin, M. A. King's College.

The Observatory.—The Syndicate appointed by Graces of the Senate on the 27th of February and the 18th of March last, having inspected the Observatory, in company with several members of the University, and strangers distinguished by their knowledge of astronomy, have published the following Report:—

"That the condition of the books and instruments is very satisfactory, the Professor having marked and registered them, so as effectually to secure the property of the University. The transit telescope and clock, which are the only capital instruments at present erected, are highly approved of by the Professor. The mural circle, in the hands of Mr. Troughton, is in a forward state, its completion being solely delayed by the difficulty of procuring proper materials for the object-glass. The equatorial is in progress. Several valuable instruments, including an excellent forty-six inch achromatic telescope by Dollond, with a triple object-glass, were purchased at the sale of Professor Woodhouse's effects on terms highly advantageous to the University.

"The whole time of Professor Airy has been devoted to the duties of the Observatory, except those portions occupied by the Plinian Lectures, and by a scientific expedition to Cornwall, to which he was pledged previously to his appointment.

"A volume has already been published containing observations made in 1828, with the results deducible from them, which are of the highest value. An attentive examination of this volume can alone give an adequate idea of the labour and skill bestowed upon it. The instrumental errors have been measured by independent methods, and each observation reduced to the true meridian. In the standard catalogue of some of the principal stars, Polaris for instance, the Professor conceives that he has discovered errors. The right ascensions of several smaller stars have been determined, but the want of assistance has greatly limited this class of observations.

"Numerous observations of the Sun, Moon and Planets have been reduced and compared with the calculated places given in the Nautical Almanack, and in Schu-

macher's Auxiliary Tables. The differences are exceedingly minute, a proof of what has hitherto been doubted, that the motions of the brighter planets are known with sufficient accuracy for determining the longitude at sea.

"The Syndicate wish to express their sense of the great industry and judgment shown by the Professor in the discharge of his duties, and their conviction that the Cambridge Observatory is likely to fulfil the highest expectations of those who interested themselves in its establishment."

BELL'S SCHOLARSHIPS.

April 3.

The election to these Scholarships has been determined as follows:—

John Edw. Bromby, St. John's, } *æq.*
Jas. Williams Inman, St. John's, }

TYRWITT'S HEBREW SCHOLARSHIPS.

May 12.

The following gentlemen were elected Scholars upon this foundation:—

First Class.

Rev. Wm. Dodd, B. A. Corpus Christi College.

James Gorle, B. A. Clare Hall.

Second Class.

W. B. A. Raven, B. A. Trinity College.

The Vice-Chancellor and other official electors of Tyrwhitt's Hebrew Scholarships have announced, in pursuance of the 13th Regulation of the Senate, bearing date the 14th of March, 1826, that a Premium of £50 will be given for the best Dissertation on "*The nature and extent of the Hebraisms found in the writings of St. Paul, including the Epistle to the Hebrews.*"

TRINITY COLLEGE EXAMINATION.

Alphabetical List of the First Classes:

Senior Sophs.

Birkbeck	H. Pearson	Travis
J. M. Heath	Steel	W. Walker.
Myers	Tate	

Junior Sophs.

Meller	Sheppard	Whiston
Nash	Wallace	Worlledge.
Paton	West	

Freshmen.

Alford	Gowring	P. Pickering
Allen	Hamilton	Shilleto
Mr. Chisholm	Hawfrey	Thompson
Ellis	D. Heath	Webster
Garnett	Lushington	Williams.

PRIZES.*CHANCELLOR'S GOLD MEDALS.*

[For the two best proficient in classical learning among the Commencing Bachelors of Arts.]

Adjudged to

Wm. Aldwin Soames, Trinity College, and
William Martin, St. John's College.

[For the best English Poem by a resident Undergraduate.]

Adjudged to

Alfred Tennyson, Trinity College.

Subject:—"Timbuctoo."

SEATONIAN PRIZE.

Subject, for the present year:—

"The Finding of Moses."

PORSON PRIZE.

[For the best translation of a passage from Shakspeare into Greek verse.]

Adjudged to

Charles R. Kennedy, Trinity College.

Subject:—

"Henry VIII. Act IV. Scene II."
beginning, "This Cardinal," &c., and
ending "Peace be with him."

This Day is published,

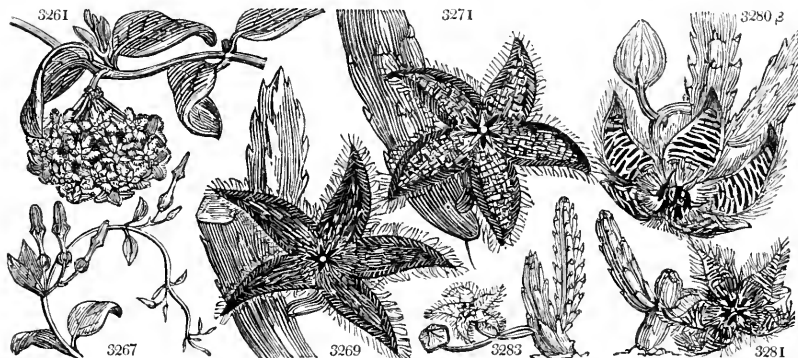
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AN
ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF PLANTS;



COMPRISING

THE DESCRIPTION, SPECIFIC CHARACTER,
CULTURE, HISTORY, APPLICATION IN THE ARTS,

AND EVERY OTHER DESIRABLE PARTICULAR RESPECTING
ALL THE PLANTS INDIGENOUS, CULTIVATED IN, OR INTRODUCED TO
BRITAIN :

COMBINING

ALL THE ADVANTAGES OF A LINNEAN AND JUSSIEUEAN SPECIES PLANTARUM,
AN HISTORIA PLANTARUM, A GRAMMAR OF BOTANY,
AND A DICTIONARY OF BOTANY AND VEGETABLE CULTURE.

The whole in English ;

WITH THE SYNONYMS OF THE COMMONER PLANTS IN THE DIFFERENT EUROPEAN
AND OTHER LANGUAGES ;

THE SCIENTIFIC NAMES ACCENTUATED, THEIR ETYMOLOGIES EXPLAINED,
THE CLASSES, ORDERS, AND BOTANICAL TERMS ILLUSTRATED BY ENGRAVINGS ,

AND WITH

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IN THE WORK.

EDITED BY J. C. LOUDON, F.L.S. H.S. &c.

THE SPECIFIC CHARACTERS BY AN EMINENT BOTANIST ;

THE DRAWINGS BY J. D. C. SOWERBY, F. L. S. ; AND

THE ENGRAVINGS BY R. BRANSTON.

LONDON :

PRINTED FOR

LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1829.

PREFACE.

IN this Encyclopædia are included all the indigenous, cultivated, and exotic plants which are now found in, or have been introduced into, Britain. The object of the work is to give a natural history of these plants, accompanied by such descriptions, engraved figures, and elementary details, as shall enable a beginner, who is a mere English reader, to discover the name of every plant which he may find in flower, refer it to its proper place both in the Natural and Artificial Systems of Classification, and acquire all the information respecting it which is useful or interesting. It must be evident to all who are conversant with the present state of botany, and who know the number of plants which have been introduced into Britain, that to accomplish that object within the limits of a volume is a task of no ordinary difficulty; some explanation of the manner in which it has been executed may therefore be required.

The Work is divided into Two Parts. The First Part contains the Linnean Arrangement of all the genera and species, with all the details comprehended in botanical description and natural and artificial botanical history, and with engraved portraits of one or more species of each genus. The Second Part contains the Jussieuan or Natural Arrangement of all the genera, without repetition of the species or any details connected with them: but as the names of the natural orders are added after each genus in the Artificial System, and as each genus in both arrangements is numbered, a direct reference may be had from the second arrangement to the first, and from the first to the second; reference may also be had indirectly, through the medium of the Contents or Index.

An Introduction is given to each system of arrangement, and a General Introduction to the whole work, in which its uses are explained. When the beginner has a plant in flower and would ascertain its name, he will turn to the Linnean System, as explained in the Introduction to that system; and, when he has but a small part of any plant, he will turn to the Natural System, as directed in the General Introduction.

All the Technical Terms, or words not usually found in an English dictionary, are explained in the Glossary; and engravings are given of such of the objects designated as might occasion any difficulty to a beginner. This Glossary and the two Introductions form together a complete Grammar of Botany.

The Table of Synonymes in various languages may, to a certain extent, be considered as presenting the Popular Floras of the various countries where these names are used; since it is only to the remarkable plants of a country that vernacular names are given.

It is usual, in botanical works enumerating genera and species, to give an Appendix containing the additions discovered or made since the book began to be printed. An Appendix to this Encyclopædia may possibly appear at some future period; but, in the mean time, the *Hortus Britannicus*, by the same Editor, which contains an enumeration brought down to the end of the year 1828, will serve every purpose of an Appendix, and, in so far as it embraces some reformations in the genera, will be found superior to any Appendix that could be made.

No farther explanation of the nature and uses of this work appearing necessary, it only remains to present the thanks of the Proprietors and of the Editor to AYLMER BOURKE LAMBERT, Esq. F. R. S. V. P. L. S. F. G. S. &c., for allowing Mr. SOWERBY the freest use of his rich botanical library and extensive herbarium, for the selection of subjects to be engraved; and to DAVID DON, Esq. Lib. L. S., Mr. LAMBERT's librarian, for his unremitting and unwearied exertions, during upwards of seven years, to facilitate the labours of Mr. SOWERBY. To ROBERT BROWN, Esq. F. R. S. V. P. L. S. &c.; to the Council of the Linnean Society; and, again, to DAVID DON, Esq., in his capacity of librarian to the Linnean Society, the Proprietors are much indebted for similar services; and they beg leave to thank, in a very particular manner, MESSRS. LODDIGES of Hackney, for original drawings of many species, made from living plants in their unrivalled collection of exotics. Without the Herbarium of Mr. LAMBERT, and the Hot-houses of MESSRS. LODDIGES, this work could not have been produced.

The botanical merits of this publication belong entirely to Professor LINDLEY, F. R. S. L. S. G. S. &c. He determined the genera and the number of species to be arranged under them; prepared the specific characters, derivations, and accentuations; he either wrote or examined the notes; and he corrected the whole while passing through the press.

J. C. L.

Bayswater, February, 1829.

T A B L E

OF

ABBREVIATIONS AND REFERENCES

Used in Columns 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12.

COLUMN 3. *Habit.*

☞	Deciduous tree.
☞	Evergreen tree.
☞	Palm tree.
☞	Deciduous shrub.
☞	Evergreen shrub.
☞	Deciduous under-shrub.
☞	Evergreen under-shrub.
☞	Deciduous twiner, ligneous or herbaceous.
☞	Evergreen twiner, ligneous or herbaceous.
☞	Deciduous climber, lig. or herb.
☞	Evergreen climber, lig. or herb.
☞	Deciduous trailer, lig. or herb.
☞	Evergreen trailer, lig. or herb.
☞	Deciduous creeper, lig. or herb.
☞	Evergreen creeper, lig. or herb.
☞	Deciduous herbaceous plant.
☞	Evergreen herbaceous plant.
☞	Grass.
☞	Bulbous plant.
☞	Fusiform-rooted plant.
☞	Tuberous-rooted plant.
☞	Aquatic.
☞	Parasite.

COLUMN 4. *Habitation.*

△	Perennial.
○	Biennial.
○	Annual.
□	Bark, or moist, stove.
□	Dry stove.
□	Green-house.
□	Frame.
□	Bark stove perennial.
□	Dry stove perennial.
□	Green-house perennial.
□	Frame perennial.
□	Bark stove biennial.
□	Dry stove biennial.
□	Green-house biennial.
□	Frame biennial.
□	Bark stove annual.
□	Dry stove annual.
□	Green-house annual.
□	Frame annual.

COLUMN 5. *Popular Character.*

ag	agricultural.
cl	clothing.
cul	cultivated.
cul	culinary.
dy	dying plant.
fr	fruit-tree.
m	medicinal.
or	ornamental.
p	poisonous.
tm	timber-tree.
w	weed.

COLUMN 7. *Time of Flowering.*

ja	January.
f	February.
mr	March.
ap	April.
my	May.
ju	June.
jl	July.
au	August.
s	September.
o	October.
n	November.
d	December.

COLUMN 8. *Color of the Flower.*

Ap	apetalous, without petals.
B	blue.
Bk	black.
Br	brown.
D	dark.
F	flesh.
G	green.
L	light.
O	orange.
P	purple.
Pk	pink or rose.
R	red.
S	scarlet.
St	striped or variegated.
W	white.
Y	yellow.

COLUMN 9. *Native Country.*

C. G. H.	Cape of Good Hope.
E. Ind.	E. Indies.
N. Amer.	North America.
N. Eur.	North of Europe.
N. Holl.	New Holland.
N. S. W.	New South Wales.
S. Amer.	South America.
S. Eur.	South of Europe.
V. Di. L.	Van Dieman's Land.
W. Ind.	West Indies.

COLUMN 10. *Year of Introduction of Exotics, and Localities of British Species.*

al. bogs	alpine bogs.
al. b. p.	alpine bushy places.
al. hea.	alpine heaths.
al. lak.	alpine lakes.
al. ma.	alpine marshes.
al. me.	alpine meadows.
al. riv.	alpine rivers.
al. roc.	alpine rocks.
a. r. tr.	alpine rocks and trees.
ba.	banks.
bar. gr.	barren ground.
bar. he.	barren heaths.
bar. pa.	barren pastures.
ba. s. p.	barren sandy places.
bog. b.	boggy heaths.
bog. pl.	boggy places.
bo. m.	bogs on mountains.
bgs. m.	
bo. me.	boggy meadows.
bor. fi.	borders of fields.
br.	branches.
bu. fi.	bushy fields.
bu. hi.	bushy hills.
bu. pl.	bushy places.
cal. ba.	calcareous banks.

cal. ro.	calcareous rocks.
ch. ba.	chalky banks.
ch. cl.	chalky cliffs.
ch. fi.	chalky fields.
ch. hil.	chalky hills.
ch. pa.	chalky pastures.
ch. so.	chalky soil.
ch. wo.	chalky woods.
clov. fi.	clover fields.
clt. gr.	cultivated ground.
cor. fi.	corn fields.
dit.	ditches.
dit. ba.	ditch banks.
d.m.pl.	dry mountainous places.
dr. co.	dry commons.
dr. fi.	dry fields.
dr. he.	dry heaths.
dr. pa.	dry pastures.
dr. wo.	dry woods.
d.st.pl.	dry stony places.
d.st.w.	dry stony woods.
dungh.	dunghills.
ed.of.d.	edges of ditches.
gra.ba.	gravelly banks.
gra.he.	gravelly heaths.
gra.pa.	gravelly pastures.
gra.so.	gravelly soil.
hea.	heaths.
hea.w.	heaths and woods.
hed.	hedges.
hed. b.	hedge banks.
hghl.v.	Highland valleys.
hil. pa.	hilly pastures.
ir. bog.	Irish bogs.
ir. mo.	Irish mountains.
ir. roc.	Irish rocks.
ir. sho.	Irish shores.
ir. thi.	Irish thickets.
lak.	lakes.
m.al.p.	moist alpine places.
mar.	marshes.
mar.la.	margins of lakes.
m.a.w.	moist alpine woods.
m. c. h.	moist chalky hills.
m.ch.s.	moist chalky soil.
mea.	meadows.
me. pa.	meadows and pastures
m. h.	mountainous heaths.
m. he.	
m. hed.	moist hedges.
mic.ro.	micaceous rocks.
m. me.	moist meadows.
moi. fi.	moist fields.
moi.gr.	moist ground.
moi. h.	moist heaths.
moi.pl.	moist places.
moi.ro.	moist rocks.
moi.w.	moist woods.
mo. pl.	mountainous place.
mos. b.	mossy bogs.
moun.	mountains.
m. pas.	moist pastures.
ms. pas.	mountainous pasture.
m. r. h.	mountainous rocky heaths.
mrit. r.	maritime rocks.
m. r. r.	moist rocks and trees.
m. spl.	moist shady places.
m. thi.	mountainous thickets.
m. wo.	mountainous woods.
mud.d.	muddy ditches.
mud.s.	muddy shores.
n. of e.	north of England.
n. of s.	north of Scotland
old w.	old walls.
old wa.	
os hol.	osier holts.
pas.	pastures.
pea. d.	peaty ditches.
riv. ba.	river banks.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF PLANTS.



CLASS I. — MONANDRIA. 1 STAMEN.

THIS class, which is not large, contains chiefly exotic plants, and of these the tribe of Scitamineæ is considered one of the most beautiful families of the vegetable kingdom. The useful productions are chiefly the Ginger, Cardamom, and Turmeric, spices highly esteemed, and in general use wherever they are known, and can be procured. The *Salicornia*, a native of our sea-shores, is burned for kelp, and pickled for culinary purposes. Almost all the plants of this class are aquatic, or grow in marshes. They chiefly thrive best in a sandy loam, from which their roots should be well cleaned every year.

The genera of the Scitamineæ and Cannæ have been remodelled by Roscoe, whose arrangement has received considerable improvement from the hand of the late Dr. Roxburgh. The nature of the floral envelope of those plants has long been a subject of dispute among botanists, some considering the colored inner segments to be true petals and to be variable in numbers; and others, supposing them to be part of the calyx and constant in number, their occasional variation in number being capable of explanation. Persoon (*Synopsis*, p. 1.) is of opinion that many of the genera of the first section ought to be referred to Gynandria. According to Willdenow and others, the following species belonging to other classes, have only one stamen.

Monogynia. *Mangifera indica*; *Alchemilla aphanes*, several species of *Scirpus*, *Cyperus*, *Schœnus*, *Kyllinga*, *Cryptotomum monandrum*, *Chorizandra*, *Polycnemum monandrum*, *Hopcia*.

Digynia. *Lacistema*, *Leersia*, *Salsela*, and many grasses.

Order I. MONOGYNIA. 1 Stamen. 1 Style.

§ 1. *Germen inferior, anther simple, style erect, free. Flowers spathaceous.*

1. *Canna*. Anther attached to the edge of the petal-like filament. Style thick, club-shaped. Stigma linear, obtuse.

2. *Maranta*. Anther attached to the petal-like filament. Style petal-shaped. Stigma three-sided. Flowers panicled.

3. *Catathæa*. Anther attached to the petal-like filament. Style petal-shaped. Stigma cucullate. Flowers in close heads.

4. *Thalia*. Anther attached to its proper filament. Style depressed. Stigma depressed, perforated, and gaping.

5. *Phrynium*. Anther attached to its proper filament. Style united to the tube of the corolla, hooked at the end. Stigma funnel-shaped. Seeds with an arillus.

§ 2. *Germen inferior, anther double, style inclosed in the furrow formed by the anther. Flowers spathaceous.*

6. *Hedychium*. Anther naked. Tube of the corolla long and slender, with both limbs 3-partite, the interior one resupinate. Capsule dry.

7. *Roscoeæ*. Anther 2-lobed, incurved, surrounding the style with an appendage split at the base. Outer limb of the corolla 3-partite, with the upper segment erect and fornicate. Inner limb 2-lipped.

8. *Alpinia*. Anther not crowned. Interior limb of the corolla with one lip. Capsule berried. Seeds with an arillus.

9. *Heilenia*. Anther in some marginal. Filament linear, longer than the anther, with a very short rounded entire or 2-lobed appendage. Capsules crustaceous. Seeds with an arillus.

10. *Zingiber*. Inner limb of the corolla with one lip. Anther with a simple recurved horn at the end.

11. *Costus*. Interior limb of the corolla nearly campanulate, split at the back. Filament lanceolate. Anther in the centre of it or at some distance from the end. Seeds naked.

12. *Kæmpferia*. Tube of the corolla long and slender, with both limbs 3-partite. Anther with a 2-lobed crest.

13. *Amomum*. Inner limb of the corolla with 1 lip. Anther with an entire or 2-lobed crest. Seeds with an arillus.

14. *Curcuma*. Both limbs of the corolla 3-partite. Anther with 2 spurs at the base. Seeds with an arillus.

15. *Globba*. Inner limb of the corolla 2-lobed or none. Filament hollow at the base, with a wedge-shaped lip. Anther with an appendage or none. Seeds attached to 3 parietal placentas.

16. *Mantisia*. Outer limb of the corolla 3-partite, inner filiform with a double trifid limb. Filament 4-partite at the end.

§ 3. *Germen superior, corolla irregular.*

17. *Philydram*. Calyx 2-leaved colored. Filaments 3 united at the base, the two lateral ones barren and petal-shaped. Seeds numerous, minute.

§ 4. *Germen inferior, corolla irregular. Flowers naked.*

18. *Lopezia*. Cal. 4-leaved. Cor. 4-petaled, unequal. Filaments two: one antheriferous, the other petal-shaped abortive. Caps. 4-valved, 4-celled, many seeded.

§ 5. *Germen inferior, corolla regular, flowers naked.*

19. *Boerhaavia*. Cal. 1-leaved, ob-conic, inclosing the seed. Cor. plaited, on the end of the calyx.

20. *Centranthus*. Cor. 5-lobed, regular, spurred. Caps. 1-celled, crowned with the limb of the calyx expanded into a plumose pappus.

§ 6. *Apetalous.*

21. *Pollichia*. Cal. 1-leaved, 5-toothed. Seed. 1. Fruit upon the heaped, berried scales of the receptacle.

22. *Salicornia*. Cal. turbinate, entire, fleshy. Stamen inserted into the bottom of the cal. Style 2-fid. Utricle inclosed in the fleshy calyx. Seed vertically compressed.

23. *Hippuris*. Cal. entire, minute. Style in the hollow of the anther. Germen inferior, one-seeded, crowned by the rim of the calyx.

24. *Zostera*. Spadix linear in the sheath of the leaf, bearing seed on one side. Stamens opposite the germens and alternate with them, sessile. Caps. one-seeded.

25. *Chloranthus*. Stamen irregular, fleshy, lobed, fixed to the side of the germen. Stigma capitate. A Drupa

Order 2. DIGYNIA. 1 Stamen. 2 Styles.

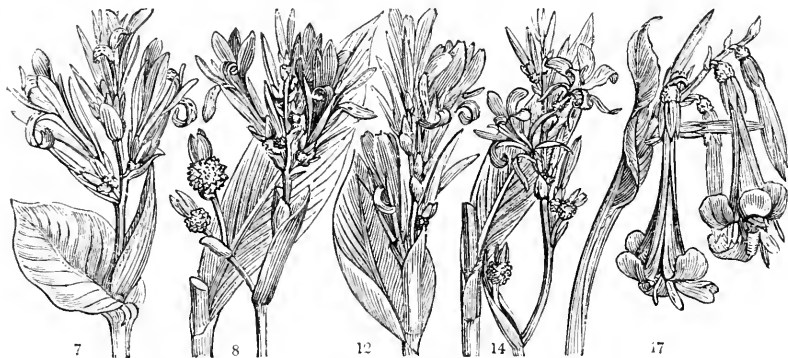
26. *Corispermum*. Cal. 2-leaved. Cor. O. Seed one, oval, convex-plane. (Stamens often 5.)

27. *Callitriche*. Cal. 2-leaved. Pet. O. Caps. 2-celled, 4-seeded.

28. *Bilum*. Cal. trifid. Cor. O. Seed one, immersed in a berried calyx.

29. *Aspicarpa*. Cal. 5-parted. Cor. O. Stamen included. Germen and Stigma 2-lobed. Fruit cartilaginous, 1-seeded.

Systematic Name and Authority.	English Name.	Habit.	Habitat in the Garden.	Popular character.	Height in feet.	Time of flowering.	Color of the flower.	Native Country.	Year of Introduction of Exotics, and localities of British Species.	Propagation.	Soil.	Reference to Figures.
1. <i>CANNA</i> . <i>W.</i>	INDIAN SHOT.											
1 <i>pátens</i> <i>Ro.c.</i>	spreading	✓	or	12	my	R.v	Rio Jan.	1778.	R r.m	Bot. reg.	576	
2 <i>indica</i> <i>Rosc.</i>	common	✓	or	12	ja.d	R	India	1570.	R r.m	Red. lil.	201	
3 <i>maculata</i> <i>Rosc.</i>	spotted	✓	or	12	ja.d	R.v	India	...	R r.m	Hook. ex.	l. 53	
3 <i>coccinea</i> <i>Rosc.</i>	scarlet	✓	or	12	ja.d	S	S. Amer.	1731.	R r.m	Bot. mag.	432	
4 <i>lutea</i> <i>Rosc.</i>	yellow	✓	or	12	ja.d	Y	E. Indies	1629.	R r.m	Bot. mag.	2085	
5 <i>Lamberti</i> <i>Lind.</i>	Lambert's	✓	or	4	my	S	Trinidad	1819.	R r.m	Bot. reg.	470	
6 <i>gigantea</i> <i>R. L.</i>	gigantic	✓	or	5	d.ja	R.v	S. Amer.	1809.	R r.m	Bot. reg.	206	
7 <i>occidentalis</i> <i>Rosc.</i>	western	✓	or	3	s.d	R.v	W. Indies	1822.	R r.m	Bot. reg.	772	
8 <i>limbata</i> <i>Rosc.</i>	bordered	✓	or	3	ja.d	R	Brazil	1818.	R r.m	Bot. reg.	771	
9 <i>variabilis</i> <i>W.</i>	variable	✓	or	3	ja.d	R	India	1822.	R r.m			
10 <i>rúbra</i> <i>W.</i>	red	✓	or	3	ja.d	R.v	W. Indies	1820.	R r.m			
11 <i>rubricaulis</i> <i>Lk.</i>	red-stemmed	✓	or	3	my	R	.....	1821.	R r.m			
12 <i>édulis</i> <i>B. R.</i>	eatable	✓	or	3	s.d	R	Peru	1820.	R r.m	Bot. reg.	775	
13 <i>speciosa</i> <i>B. M.</i>	shewy	✓	or	3	a.s	R	.....	1820.	R r.m	Bot. mag.	2317	
14 <i>pedunculata</i> <i>B. M.</i>	stalked	✓	or	6	s.d	O	.....	1820.	R r.m	Bot. mag.	2323	
15 <i>flaccida</i> <i>Rosc.</i>	flaccid	✓	or	5	jl	R	S. Carol.	1788.	R r.m	Sal. st. ra.	3. t. 2	
16 <i>glauca</i> <i>Rosc.</i>	glaucous	✓	or	2	jn.au	Y	S. Amer.	1732.	R r.m	Ex. b. 2. t.	102	
17 <i>rustica</i> <i>W.</i>	rufous	✓	or	2	jn.au	Br	S. Amer.	...	R r.m	Bot. mag.	2302	
17 <i>indiflora</i> <i>Fl. Per.</i>	nodding-flow.	✓	or	6	d.ja	R	Peru	1816.	R r.m	Bot. mag.	1968	
2. <i>MARANTA</i> . <i>W.</i>	ARROW-ROOT.											
18 <i>arundinacea</i> <i>W.</i>	Indian	✓	or	2	jl.au	W	S. Amer.	1732.	R s.l	Bot. mag.	2307	
19 <i>obliqua</i> <i>Rudge.</i>	oblique	✓	or	2	d	R	Guiana	1803.	R s.l	Ru. p. g. p. 8. t. 2		
20 <i>lutea</i> <i>Jacq.</i>	yellow	✓	or	2	jn.jl	Y.w	Caracas	1809.	R s.l	Ja. ic. r. 2. t. 201		
21 <i>angustifolia</i> <i>B. M.</i>	narrow-leaved	✓	or	2	jl.au	R	W. Indies	1829.	R s.l	Bot. mag.	2308	
22 <i>Tonchat</i> <i>W.</i>	ovate	✓	or	8	jl.au	R	E. Indies	1819.	R s.l	Rumph. 4. t. 7		
23 <i>gibba</i> <i>L. K.</i>	gibbous	✓	or	4	au	O	E. Indies	1818.	R s.l			
24 <i>comosa</i> <i>W.</i>	close-spiked	✓	or	2	jn.jl	Y.w	Surinam	1812.	R s.l			
3. <i>CALATHEA</i> . <i>Mey.</i>	<i>CALATHEA</i> .											
25 <i>zebrina</i> <i>Lind.</i>	striped-leaved	✓	or	2	ja.d	R.v	Brazil	1815.	R s.p	Bot. reg.	385	
25 <i>Maranta zebrina</i> <i>B. M.</i>												
4. <i>THALIA</i> . <i>W.</i>	<i>THALIA</i> .											
26 <i>dealbata</i> <i>Rosc.</i>	mealy	✓	or	4	jl.au	W	S. Carol.	1791.	R p.l	Bot. mag.	1690	
5. <i>PHRYNIUM</i> . <i>W.</i>	<i>PHRYNIUM</i> .											
27 <i>capitatum</i> <i>W.</i>	headed	✓	or	5	W	E. Indies	1807.	R s.l	As. r. 11. t. 3			
28 <i>dichotomum</i> <i>Rorz.</i>	forked	✓	or	5	jl.au	W	E. Indies	1810.	R s.l			
6. <i>HEDYCHIUM</i> . <i>W.</i>	GARLAND FLOWERS.											
29 <i>coronarium</i> <i>Rorz.</i>	sweet-scented	✓	or	5	jn.s	Y	E. Indies	1791.	R p.l	Bot. mag.	708	
30 <i>angustifolium</i> <i>Rorz.</i>	scarlet	✓	or	5	jn.s	S	E. Indies	1815.	R s.l	Bot. reg.	157	
31 <i>elatum</i> <i>Br.</i>	tall	✓	or	5	jn.d	Y	E. Indies	1818.	R s.l	Bot. reg.	526	
32 <i>Gardnerianum</i> <i>Wall.</i>	Gardner's	✓	or	7	jn.au	Y	E. Indies	1819.	R s	Bot. reg.	771	
33 <i>flavescens</i> <i>B. C.</i>	pale-yellow	✓	or	6	jn	Y	India	1822.	R s	Bot. cab.	723	
34 <i>spicatum</i> <i>B. M.</i>	spiked	✓	or	3	jn	Y	E. Indies	1810.	R co	Bot. mag.	2300	
35 <i>gracile</i> <i>Rorz.</i>	slender	✓	or	3	jn	W	Bengal	1823.	R s.l			
36 <i>flavum</i> <i>Rorz.</i>	yellow	✓	or	3	jn.au	Y	Nepal	1822.	R s.l	Bot. cab.	604	
37 <i>heteromallum</i> <i>B. R.</i>	variable	✓	or	3	jn.au	Y	India	1822.	R s.l	Bot. reg.	767	

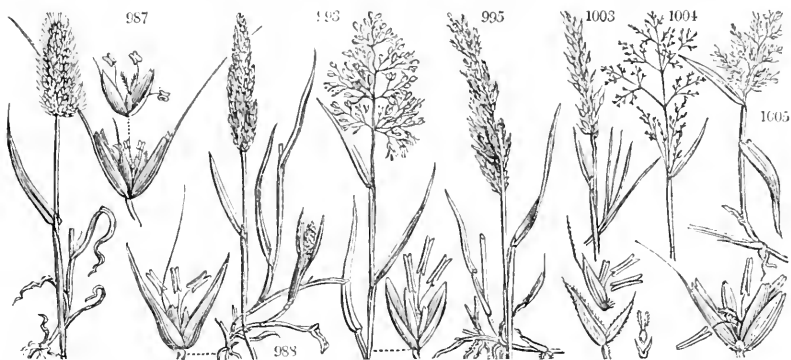


History, Use, Propagation, Culture,

1. *Canna*. From a Celtic word signifying a cane or mat. *Le Balisier*, Fr. *Blumenrohr*, Ger. *Canna*, Ital. The three first species are found wild within the tropics on all the continents, and chiefly in moist woods, or spongy woody wastes: in America and the Brazils, they are known by the name of wild plantain, and their leaves are used as envelopes for many objects of commerce; from which circumstance, the French name of the plant (*balisier*) is said to have arisen; *balija* being Spanish for an envelope. Clusius says, he saw the *C. lutea* flowering by house-sides in Spain and Portugal, and that the inhabitants there use the seed for making their rosaries: in the East Indies the seeds are sometimes used as shot. The roots of *C. edulis* are eaten, dressed in various ways, in Peru. The seeds of most of the species are round, hard, black, shining, heavy, and about one sixteenth of an inch diameter. These grow readily, or the plants may be propagated by dividing the roots; Miller recommends rich garden earth; Sweet (*Bot. Cultiv.* p. 34.) light rich soil for all the species. Most of these, if planted in a warm border early in summer, will flower there during the season.

2. *Maranta*. So named from Bartholomeo Maranti, a Venetian physician, who wrote three books chiefly to illustrate Diosc.; died 1554. *Galangre*, Fr. *Galgant*, Ger. The *M. arundinacea* is called Indian arrow-root, because its thick fleshy root was thought to extract the poison from wounds inflicted by the poisoned arrows of the Indians. In the West Indies it is used as an alexipharmic, to resist the force of poisons;

154. POLYPOGON. <i>W. en.</i> POLYPOGON.	<i>Gramineæ.</i>	Sp. 1—8.							
987 monspeliensis <i>Desf.</i> panic-grass-like	Δ w	1 jlau	Ap	Britain	ways. S	co	Eng. bot.	1704	
155. GASTRIDIMUM. <i>P. de B.</i> GASTRIDIMUM.	<i>Gramineæ.</i>	Sp. 2.							
988 lendigerum yellow	Δ ag	$\frac{1}{2}$ jlau	Ap	Britain	san. fi. S	co	Eng. bot.	1107	
989 müticum <i>Spr.</i> beardless	Δ w	lin jlau	Ap	Sicily	1819. S	co			
156. AGROSTIS. <i>W.</i> BENT-GRASS.	<i>Gramineæ.</i>	Sp. 10—110.							
990 Spica-vénti <i>W.</i> silky	Δ w	4 jnjl	Ap	England	san. fi. S	s.1	Eng. bot.	951	
991 retrofracta <i>W. en.</i> broad-leaved	Δ w	2 jlau	Ap	N. Holl.	1806. S	s.1			
992 littoralis <i>E. B.</i> sea-side	Δ w	1 au	Ap	England	sal. m. S	l	Eng. bot.	1261	
993 vulgaris <i>E. B.</i> fine	Δ w	$\frac{1}{2}$ jlau	Ap	Britain	me. pa. S	l	Eng. bot.	1671	
994 hispida <i>W.</i> hispid	Δ w	1 jlau	Ap	Europe	1805. S	co	Lers. hrb.	t.4. f.3	
995 stolonifera <i>W.</i> Fiorin	Δ ag	1 jl	Ap	Britain	moi. m. C	h.1	Eng. bot.	1532	
996 alba <i>W.</i> marsh	Δ w	$\frac{1}{2}$ jl	Ap	Britain	mar. S	m.s	Eng. bot.	1189	
997 verticillata <i>W.</i> whorl-flowered	Δ w	1 jnjl	Ap	S. Europe	1800. S	co			
998 sylvatica <i>L.</i> wood	Δ w	$\frac{1}{2}$ jnjl	Ap	Britain	woods S	m.s	Lers. hrb.	t.4. f.3	
999 calamagrostis <i>W.</i> reedy	Δ w	2 jl	Ap	Britain	dit. S	co			
157. TRICHODIUM. <i>Mi.</i> TRICHODIUM.	<i>Gramineæ.</i>	Sp. 5—16.							
1000 decumbens <i>Mi.</i> decumbent	Δ ag	2 jnjl	Ap	N. Amer.	1786 S	co	Fras. mo. cu. ic.		
1001 caninum <i>W. en.</i> brown	Δ w	$\frac{1}{2}$ jlau	Ap	Britain	pas. S	co	Eng. bot.	1856	
1002 rupëstre <i>Schr.</i> rock	Δ w	1 jl	Ap	S. Europe	1815 S	co	Schr. ger. l. t. 3. f. 5		
1003 setaceum <i>R. & S.</i> bristly	Δ w	1 jlau	Ap	Britain	dr. he. S	co	Eng. bot.	1188	
1004 laxiflorum <i>Mich.</i> loose-flowered	Δ w	2 jlau	Ap	N. Amer.	1818. S	co	Mich. am. l. t. 8		
158. TRISTEGIS. <i>Nees.</i> TRISTEGIS.	<i>Gramineæ.</i>	Sp. 1.							
1005 glutinosa <i>Nees</i> clammy	Δ cu	$\frac{1}{2}$ jnjl	Ap	.....	1822. S	co	Hor. ber.	t. 7	
159. SPOROBOLUS. <i>B. P.</i> SPOROBOLUS.	<i>Gramineæ.</i>	Sp. 2—10.							
1006 indicus <i>B. P.</i> Indian	Δ cu	2 au.o	Ap	India	1773. S	co	Slojam. l. t. 73. f. 1		
1007 tenacissimus <i>W.</i> tough	Δ cu	$\frac{1}{2}$ au.s	Ap	E. Indies	1801. S	co	Jacq. ic. rar. t. 16		
160. AIROPSIS. <i>Desv.</i> AIROPSIS.	<i>Gramineæ.</i>	Sp. 1—6.							
1008 involucrâta <i>Cav.</i> involucred	Δ w	1 jn	Ap	Spain	1820. S	co	Cav. ic. t. 44. f. 1		
161. CINNA. <i>P. de B.</i> CINNA.	<i>Gramineæ.</i>	Sp. 2.							
1009 mexicana <i>W.</i> Mexican	Δ w	1 jn.s	Ap	America	1780. S	1 p			
1010 arundinacea <i>L.</i> reedy	Δ w	3 jn.s	Ap	Canada	1799. S	m.s	Schr. b. gram. t. 49		
162. PSAMMA. <i>P. de B.</i> MAT-GRASS.	<i>Gramineæ.</i>	Sp. 1—2.							
1011 arenarium <i>E. B.</i> sea	Δ w	2 jnjl	Ap	Britain	sea co. S	s	Eng. bot.	520	
163. CRYPISIS. <i>W.</i> CRYPISIS.	<i>Gramineæ.</i>	Sp. 2—8.							
1012 aculeata <i>W.</i> prickly	Δ w	$\frac{1}{2}$ au	Ap	S. Europe	1783. S	co	Host. gra. l. t. 31		
1013 schenoides <i>Lam.</i> rush-like	Δ w	$\frac{1}{2}$ au	Ap	S. Europe	1783. S	co	Host. gra. l. t. 30		
164. ALOPECURUS. <i>W.</i> FOX-TAIL-GRASS.	<i>Gramineæ.</i>	Sp. 8—21.							
1014 bulbosus <i>W.</i> bulbous	Δ w	1 jl	Ap	England	sal. m. S	m.s	Eng. bot.	1249	
1015 pratensis <i>W.</i> meadow	Δ ag	2 ny	Ap	Britain	mea. S	h.1	Eng. bot.	759	
1016 alpinus <i>E. B.</i> Alpine	Δ w	$\frac{1}{2}$ ny.jn	Ap	Scotland	sc. mo. S	s.1	Eng. bot.	1126	
1017 agrestis <i>W.</i> slender	Δ w	$\frac{1}{2}$ jlau	Ap	Britain	ro. sid. S	s.1	Eng. bot.	848	



History, Use, Propagation, Culture,

154. *Polypogon*. Named by M. Desfontaines from $\rho\omega\lambda\omega$, much, and $\pi\omega\gamma\omega\tau$, beard, in allusion to its bearded heads.

155. *Gastridium*. From $\gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\delta\iota\omega$, a little swelling: the glumes are ventricose at the base. A very small grass, formerly referred to *Milium*.

156. *Agrostis*. Derived from $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\sigma$, a field. *Agrostis* was the name given by the Greeks to all grasses. Of this genus the most remarkable species is the *A. stolonifera* or *fiorin*, so much recommended by Dr. Richardson; but respecting which the opinion of practical men is still unsettled, and, on the whole, rather unfavorable than otherwise. It seems to suit the climate and soil of Ireland, and to be more productive and nutritive there than anywhere else. In the account of the Woburn experiments on grasses, it is observed of *fiorin*, that it appears to possess "merits well worthy of attention, though, perhaps, not so great as has been supposed, if the natural place of its growth and habits be impartially taken into the account." It is called squitch, quick, &c. like the common couch-grass, from the length of time it retains its vital power. Like other plants, which propagate themselves abundantly by extension of their parts, it rarely bears seeds, and is therefore propagated by cuttings of the stems laid along drills an inch deep, and slightly covered with soil. *A. vulgaris*, which in dry arable land is called the black quitch, is the most common and earliest of the bents, but inferior to several in produce, and the quantity of nutritive matter it affords. The bents are generally rejected by the agriculturist on account of their lateness of flowering; but this circumstance, as Sinclair observes (*Darby's Agr. Chem.* App. lxxv.) does not always imply a proportional lateness of foliage. *A. vulgaris* is in leaf by the middle of April. *A. stolonifera* is two weeks later, and *A. nivea*, and repens, three weeks later. In the south of France and Italy, the poor people collect the stolons of different species of *agrostis* by the roadsides and hedges, and expose them for sale in the market places in small bundles, as food for horses.

987 Panicle contracted, somewhat spiked, Glumes somewhat pubescent with a smooth edge

988 Panicle spiked ventricose at base, Glumes acuminate shining, Flowers bearded

989 Flowers beardless

990 Panicle whorled spreading, Beard very long below the end of the outer paleæ (*Apera* P. de B.)

991 Panicle much spreading, Beard bent inwards, Paleæ hairy, Culm ascending branched at the base

992 Glumes linear-lance, bearded, Paleæ naked, Beard nearly term. straight, Culm decumbent (*Vilfa* P. de B.)

993 Branches of pan. smoothish, Branchlets at the time of flow. divar. Ligula very short trunc. (*Vilfa* P. de B.)

994 Branches of pan. hispid, Fl. purple, Branchlets much spreading rather lax, Ligula oblong (*Vilfa* P. de B.)

995 Pan. contracted, Culm branched creeping, Flowers clustered, Glumes equal lanc. pubesc. (*Vilfa* P. de B.)

996 Branches of pan. hispid, Fl. white, Branchl. much spreading rather lax, Ligula oblong (*Vilfa* P. de B.)

997 Whorls of the pan. approxim. closely covered all over with flowers, Florets beardless (*Vilfa* P. de B.)

998 Panicle contracted beardless, Glumes equal, Flowers viviparous (*Vilfa* P. de B.)

999 Beard term. curved, Hairs longer than paleæ, Panicle diffused, Glumes acumin. (*Achnatherum* P. de B.)

1000 Pan. very branching, Branches trichot. much sprdg. hispid, Glumes acute, Paleæ beardless, Stem decumb.

1001 Branches of panicle di-trichotomous roughish, Glumes acute, Leaves of stem wider than those of root

1002 Branches of panicle nearly 3-chotomous roughish, Glumes acuminate, Paleæ with two short beards at end

1003 Glumes lanceolate, Paleæ with a jointed beard at their base, Radical leaves setaceous

1004 Culms erect, Leaves narrow short, Sheaths roughish, Panicle very capillary and loose

1005 A little agrostis-like plant. The only species

1006 Panicle contracted beardless, Racemes lateral erect alternate

1007 Pan. elong. contr. nearly spiked, Florets beardless, Glumes uneq. twice as short as paleæ which are uneq.

1008 Panicle spreading, with a setaceous involucre, Florets beardless

1009 Panicle contracted beardless, Flowers acuminate often monandrous, Leaves flat rough

1010 Panicle much branched oblong close, Branches erect, Paleæ bearded, Ligula torn

1011 Panicle spiked, Glumes acute, Hairs 3 times as short as paleæ, Leaves involute

1012 Stems branched compressed, Panicle spiked hemispherical surrounded by a leafy involucre, Diandrous

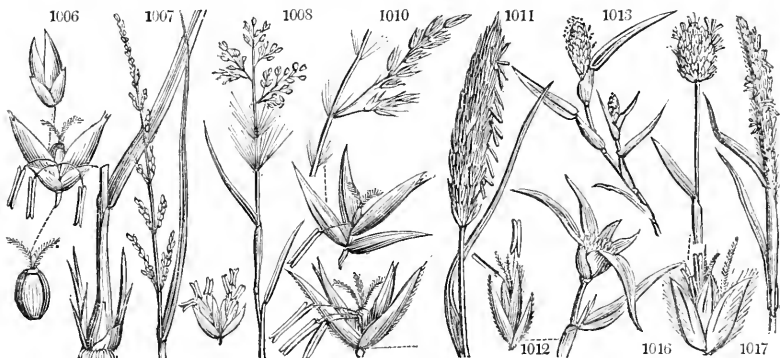
1013 Stems branched compressed, Panicle spiked oblong sheathed at base, Triandrous

1014 Stem erect, Spike very simple attenuated, Glumes distinct villous, Root bulbous

1015 Stem erect smooth, Pan. subspiked cylindrical obtuse thick, Glumes fringed connate below the middle

1016 Stem erect smooth, Spike ovate, Glumes villous bearded nearly as long as the beard of the paleæ

1017 Stem generally erect roughish upwards, Panicle spiked cylind. acute, Glumes connate below the middle



and Miscellaneous Particulars.

157. *Trichodium*. Named from *τρίχος*, hair, on account of its capillary inflorescence. *T. decumbens* is the famous *Agrostis cornucopiæ* of Frazer, respecting which so much was said some years ago; but which upon trial did not prove so valuable an agricultural grass as it was represented to be.

158. *Tristegis*. From *τρίσις*, three, and *στῆγη*, a covering, on account of the three glumes or valves of the calyx.

159. *Sporobolus*. From *σπορος*, a seed, and *βαλλω*, to cast forth. Its grains are loose, and easily fall out of their husks.

160. *Airopsis*. A word formed by M. Desvaux, from *Aira*, and *οψις*, like. The genus resembles *Aira* in appearance.

161. *Cinna*. An ancient name used by Dioscorides, who ascribes heating and stimulating qualities to this grass when eaten by cattle, whence the name (from *ζειν*, to heat). Linnæus applied it to this genus of American grasses.

162. *Psamma*. From *ψαμμος*, sand, in which this grass grows in vast abundance on the sea-coasts of Europe. *P. arenarium* has a strong creeping perennial root with many tubers at the joints, the size of a pea. It is planted and encouraged on the coast of Norfolk to aid in fixing the sand against the action of the wind and tides, which it effects in a surprising manner. The marrum, as it is called, is considered of so much importance that there are severe laws to prohibit its being destroyed. Mats are made of it, and it is used as thatch.

163. *Crypsis*. From *κρυπτω*, to conceal; the heads of flowers being at one time concealed in the sheaths of the leaves.

164. *Alopecurus*. *Αλωπηξ*, a fox, and *ουρα*, a tail: fox-tail. *A. pratensis* is one of the best of meadow-grasses, possessing the three great requisites of quantity, quality, and earliness, in a superior degree to any other. It is

7900 Leaves elliptic oblong simply serrated, Peduncles 1-flowered

7901 Petals 27-30 purple : outer oblong ; inner lanceolate

7902 Petals 9-12 yellowish ovate roundish

7903 Leaves truncate at end with two broad opposite stipules

7904 Leaves evergreen oval-obl. coriaceous shining above ferruginous beneath, Flowers erect with 9-12 petals

7905 Leaves elliptical blunt glaucous beneath, Flowers with 9-12 contracted petals which are ovate concave

7906 Like the last, but leaves evergreen elliptical acute at each end

7907 Lvs. deciduous obovate abruptly acuminate the younger pubescent, Flowers naked erect with 6-9 petals

7908 Lvs. deciduous obov. acute netted nearly smooth, Fls. erect, Sepals 3, Petals 6 obovate, Styles very short

7909 Lvs. decid. obov. point. at each end, younger downy ben., old ones smooth, Fls. erect, Sep. 3, Pet. 6, Styles [very short

7910 Leaves evergreen smooth netted ellipt. acuminate at each end subglaucous, Flowers cernuous

7911 Leaves evergreen elliptic obl. : the old smooth ; younger and branches fuscous downy, Flowers erect

7912 Lvs. deciduous heart-shaped subovate acute, above smooth, beneath somewhat tomentose, Pet. 6-9, obl.

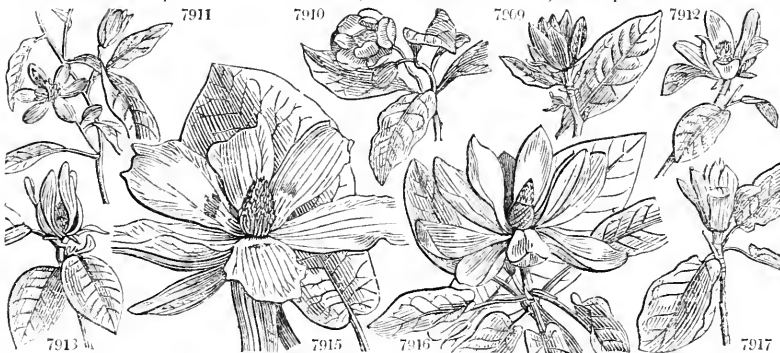
7913 Leaves deciduous oval acuminate pubescent beneath, Petals 6-9

7914 Leaves deciduous lanc. much spreading, younger downy beneath, Petals 9-12, the outer hanging down

7915 Lvs. deciduous very large obl. obov. subcuneate cordate at base, beneath whitish glaucous, Pet. 6-9 ovate

7916 Lvs. decid. smooth spatulate obov. subcord. at base, Auricles blunt close, Sep. 3 much spread, Pet. 9 oblong

7917 Lvs. decid. smth spatul. obov. subcord. at base, of same color on both sides, Auric. spread, Pet. 9 lanc. acumi.



and Miscellaneous Particulars.

greater age, though ringing might probably be successfully applied to throwing this and other ornamental trees into a flowering state. There are many fine old trees round London, in the parishes of Fulham, Walham-green, Kew, &c., and a very fine one even so far north as Piteaithly wells in Fifehire.

1217. *Magnolia*. In honor of Pierre Magnol, professor of medicine, and prefect of the botanic garden at Montpellier; author of *Botanicum Mompeliense*, 1675, and other works. The species are chiefly large trees with large leaves, and axillary flowers, also very large and highly odorous.

M. grandiflora is the noblest species; the leaves, which are persistent, are nine or ten inches long, and not unlike those of a common laurel. The flowers are produced at the ends of the branches; they are very large, and composed of eight or ten petals, narrow at their base, but broad, rounded, and a little waved at their extremities; they spread open very wide, are of a pure white color, and have an agreeable scent.

The variety *g. elliptica* or *Exmouth* (having been raised from the seed of an old tree in Sir John Collington's garden of that place) flowers earliest and most freely; it is also the hardiest.

M. glauca is deciduous. In America it is known by the names of *white laurel*, *swamp sassafras*, and *beaver tree*. It has the last name, because the root is eaten as a great dainty by beavers; and this animal is caught by means of it. Kalm says, these trees may be discovered by the scent of the blossoms at the distance of three quarters of a mile, if the wind be favorable. It is beyond description pleasant to travel in the woods at the flowering season, especially in the evening. They retain their flowers for three weeks, and even longer. The berries also look very handsome when they are ripe, being of a rich red color, and hanging in bunches on slender threads. They cure coughs and other pectoral diseases by putting these berries into brandy, and giving a draught of the liquor every morning. The wood is made use of for joiners' planes. Dillenius remarks, that the flowers never open in a morning, that the calyx falls off at the second opening of the flower, but that the petals dry on, and that the scent resembles that of the hily of the valley, with a mixture of aromatic.

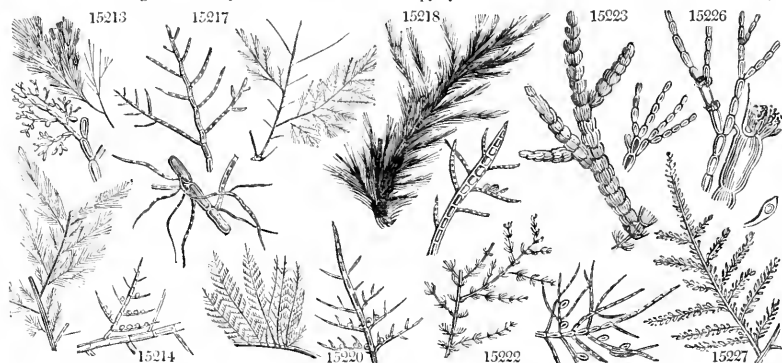
M. conspicua is much valued as a free flowerer, and on account of the early appearance of its white odoriferous blossoms. *Yulan* is the vernacular name in Japan.

M. acuminata bears a fruit about three inches long, like a small cucumber, and is thence called *cucumber tree* in America.

M. tripetala has leaves twelve or fifteen inches long and five or six inches wide, narrowing to a point at each extremity, and placed at the ends of the branches in a circular manner like an umbrella, whence its name. The flowers are composed of ten, eleven, or twelve large oblong white petals; the wood is soft and spongy, and the leaves drop off earlier than in the other deciduous sorts.

The different species, Sweet observes, are generally increased by layers or seeds: when the layers are first taken off they should be potted in a mixture of loam and peat, and placed in a close frame till they have taken fresh root. None of the leaves should be taken off or shortened, nor any shoots be cut off; or their tops shortened, as they will not succeed so well; for the more branches and leaves are on them, the sooner they will strike fresh root. Most cultivators cut off many of the leaves and shoots of layers, when they are first taken off, thinking the roots will not have so much to nourish, which is the very reason

15213 corymbosum Ag.	corymbose	little tufts	14 july	R	sea shore	Eng. bot. t. 2352
15214 roseum Ag.	rosy	finely branch.	14 sum.	R	ocean	Dillw. conf. t. 17
15215 thujoides Ag.	Arbor-Vitæ	finely branch.	6 july	R	ocean	E. b. t. 2465. <i>C. purpuræ</i> .
15216 versicolor Ag.	changeable	fine tufts	3 sum.	Pu. R	on Fuci	Eng. bot. t. 965. <i>C. rosea</i>
15217 Borreri Ag.	Borrer's	little patches	13 oct.	Or. R	ocean	Eng. bot. t. 1741
15218 tetricum Ag.	livid	tufts	6 spring	DI. pu	sea shore	Eng. bot. t. 1915
15219 interruptum Ag.	interrupted	little tufts	4 july	DI. pu	sea shore	Eng. bot. t. 1838
15220 Turneri Ag.	Turner's	delicate bran.	2 sp. su.	Pk	sea shore	Eng. bot. t. 2339
15221 plumbi Ag.	feather-like	delicate bran.	2 sp. su.	Pk	sea shore	E. bot. t. 1637. <i>C. Turneri</i>
2297. GRIFFITHII SIA. Ag.	GRIFFITHSIA.		Sp. 5-7.			
15222 multifida Ag.	multifid	fine tufts	3 july	R	sea shore	E. bot. t. 1816. <i>Conferva</i>
15223 equisetifolia Ag.	equisetum-lv'd	sponge-lik. tuft.	6 sum.	R	sea shore	Eng. bot. t. 1479
15224 setacea Ag.	bristly	lax tufts	4 all sea.	R	sea shore	Eng. bot. t. 1689
15225 barbata Ag.	bearded	flocculent	14 july	C	sea shore	Eng. bot. t. 1814
15226 corallina Ag.	coralline	branch. tufts	3 july	Or. R	sea shore	Eng. bot. t. 1815
2298. CHÆTOSPORA Ag.	CHÆTOSPORA.		Sp. 1.			
15227 Wiggin Ag.	Wigg's	finely branch.	5 sum.	R. Br	sea shore	Eng. bot. t. 1165. <i>Fucus</i>
2299. POLYSIPHONIA. Græv.	POLYSIPHONIA.		Sp. 18-49.			
15228 parasitica Ag.	parasitical	small patches	14 sum.	R. Br	on Fuci	E. bot. t. 1429. <i>Conferva</i>
15229 spinulosa Græv.	rough-stemmi.	small patches	14 sum.	R. Br	sea shore	Græv. crypt. 90
15230 coccinea Ag.	scarlet	bushy tufts	4 all sea.	S	ocean	E. bot. t. 1055. <i>Conferva</i>
15231 divaricata Ag.	divaricating	tufts	3 sum.	R	ocean	Lyngb. hydroph. t. 34
15232 gracilis Ag.	slender	long tufts	4 all sea.	Pu	ocean	Dill. conf. t. 40. <i>C. stricta</i>
15233 violacea Ag.	violet	little bushes	9 sum.	Vi	ocean	Lyngb. hydroph. dan. t. 35
β major Ag.	large	bushy tufts	6 sum.	D. Pu	sea shore	Eng. bot. t. 2340. <i>C. nigra</i>
15234 nigrescens Ag.	blackish	fine tufts	6 sum.	D. Pu	ocean	E. bot. t. 1717. <i>Conferva</i>
β pectinata Ag.	pectinate	little tufts	14 sum.	D. Pu	ocean	E. bot. t. 1239. <i>C. fibrata</i>
15235 urecolata Ag.	urceolate	long branches	8 all sea.	R. Br	ocean	Dill. con. t. G. <i>Conferva</i>
15236 elongata Ag.	elongated	shrubby	8 all sea.	R. Br	ocean	Dill. con. t. 33. <i>Conferva</i>
15237 allochroa Ag.	various	small tufts	14 all sea.	Vi	ocean	Dill. con. t. G. <i>C. fibrata</i>
15238 Brodiaei Ag.	Brodie's	large tufts	15 all sea.	D. R	ocean	Dill. con. t. 107. <i>Conferva</i>
15239 atrorubescens Ag.	dark red	long tufts	6 sum.	Bl. R	marine roc.	Dill. con. t. 70. <i>Conferva</i>
15240 fastigiata Ag.	fastigate	little bushes	2 sum.	D. Br	ocean	E. b. t. 1764. <i>C. polymorp.</i>
15241 badia Ag.	brown	fine tufts	3 sum.	D. Br	ocean	Dill. con. t. G. <i>Conferva</i>
15242 recurva Ag.	recurved	fine tufts	3 sum.	D. Br	sea shore	Dill. con. t. G. <i>C. patens</i>
15243 byssoides Ag.	byssus-like	slender tufts	6 spring	R	sea shore	Eng. bot. t. 597. <i>Conferva</i>
15244 fruticulosa Ag.	shrubby	finely branch.	4 sum.	Rr	ocean	Eng. bot. t. 1686. <i>Fucus</i>
15245 filamentosa Ag.	filamentous	branch. tufts	4 march	R	ocean	E. b. t. 2312. <i>C. Griffith.</i>
2300. RYTIPIHLEA Ag.	RYTIPIHLEA.		Sp. 1-3.			
15246 tetrica Ag.	dyer's	masses	6 all sea.	Ol. G	ocean	Turn. fuci, t. 224. <i>Fucus</i>
2301. ECTOCARPUS. Ag.	ECTOCARPUS.		Sp. 4-8.			
15247 siliculosis Ag.	podded	bushy	6 spring	D. G	ocean	Dillw. conf. t. E. Conf.
15248 atroviridis Ag.	dark-green	bushy	6 spring	Rus.	ocean	E. b. t. 2319. <i>C. siliculosa</i>
γ ferrugineus Ag.	ferruginous	bushy	6 spring	Rus.	ocean	E. b. t. 2290. <i>C. littoralis</i>
15248 brachiatus Ag.	brachiate	floating tufts	3 april	Pa. br	ocean	E. bot. t. 2571. <i>Conferva</i>
15249 granulosus Ag.	granular	flocculent	3 july	Ol G	on Fuci	E. bot. t. 2351. <i>Conferva</i>
15250 tomentosus Ag.	downy	fine down	4 july	Br	ocean	Dillw. conf. t. 56. Conf.



History, Use, Propagation, Culture.

2297. *Griffithsia*. Named after Mrs. Griffiths, of Devonshire, whose many discoveries in marine vegetation truly entitle her to this distinction: the highest which one botanist can bestow upon another.

2228. *Chætospora*. From *χαῖτα*, a bristle, and *σπορα*, a spore: the latter are placed upon fine capillary divisions of the filaments.

2299. *Polysiphonia*. From *πολυς*, many, and *σιφων*, a siphon, in reference to the numerous little canals by which the colored matter is carried from one end of the plant to the other. Agardh calls these plants

4. *Branches pinnulate, Pinnule alternate.*

- 15213 Filam. branch. Branches virg. surround. by short corymbose fastig. branchl. Artic. 3 times as long as broad
 15214 Filam. branched, Branchlets alternate rigid spreading subulate, Artic. 3 times as long as broad
 15215 Filam. branched, Branchlets scattered decomposed-pinnate, Artic. 3 times as long as broad
 15216 Filam. branched, Branchlets scattered virgate, Artic. 8 times as long as broad
 15217 Filam. virgate with many simple or multifid pinnuled ramuli, Artic. 3 times as long as broad
 15218 Primary filaments downy, Branches straight decomposed pinnate, Artic. 3 times as long as broad
 15219 Filam. much branch. Artic. 4 times as long as broad by degrees becoming thickened, Caps. stalked ellipt.

5. *Filaments pinnated, Pinnæ opposite.*

- 15220 Filam. pinnated, Pinnæ opposite nearly simple, Artic. many times longer than broad
 15221 Filam. with irregular branches, having at each joint short slender opposite spreading recurved branchlets

1. *Branches fasciated.*

- 15222 Filam. branched, Branchlets subternate distant short multifid, Artic. much longer than broad [broad
 15223 Filam. branch. cover. all over with somew. whorl. imbricat. short multif. branchl. Artic. much longer than

2. *Dichotomous, chained.*

- 15224 Filam. dichotom. straight, Branches erect long, Articulations cylindrical about 5 times as long as broad
 15225 Filam. dichotom. Fibres multifid very fine, Articulations thickened upwards about 5-times as long as broad
 15226 Filaments dichotomous slippery, Articulations thickened 2-4 times as long as broad

15227 The only species

a. *Purple or scarlet, flat, somewhat pinnated.*

- 15228 Filaments bipinnate veiny rigid, Pinnæ and pinnules alternate, Articulations rather shorter than long
 15229 Dark-red, Branches divaricate rigid, Articulations 3-tubed as long as broad, Stem rough with tubercles
 15230 Filam. very much branch. Primary not jointed, Branches decomp.-pmu. Pinnules heterogen. multif. fascic.

b. *Creeping, Branches divaricating, often one-sided.*

- 15231 Filaments entangled with scattered branches, Branches divaricating, Articulations twice as long as broad

c. *Purple, whole-colored, adhering to paper.*

- 15232 Filaments nearly equal branched virgate, Branches erect, Lower articulations 5 times as long as broad

d. *Pinnuled, black above, generally rose-colored above, adhering to paper.*

- 15233 Filam. much branched diffuse, Branches virgate spread. Lower artic. obsol. Artic. much longer than broad

- 15234 Filaments much branched at end diffuse, Lower articulations very short when dry nodulose : upper about as long as broad with 3 veins

β *Filaments short somewhat pectinated, Branches nearly simple*

- 15235 Filaments much branched diffuse, Branchlets spreading short, Articulations half as long again as broad
 15236 Filam. dichotom. pinnuled much branched, Articulations shorter than long netted veiny : lower obsolete
 15237 Filam. much branched diffuse, Lower artic. 5-veined 4 times as long as broad : upp. 3-veined twice as long
 15238 First filament not jointed spirally veiny, Articulations as long as broad, Capsules axillary
 15239 Filaments branched veiny, Branches long, Artic. of stem long, of the branches thrice as short

c. *Black or blackish-brown when dry, rigid, scarcely adhering to paper.*

- 15340 Filam. dichotomous nearly equal fastigate, Artic. shorter than broad with a black point in the middle
 15241 Filaments dichotomous irregularly branched at end, Branches and branchlets very straight : upper artic. 3 times as long as broad

- 15242 Filam. much branched long diff. Branchl. short spread squarr. recurved, Lower artic. long : upper short

f. *Branchlets lateral, short, fasciated.*

- 15243 Filaments decomposed pinnated, Branchlets very short and fine, Articulations 3 times as long as broad
 15244 Filaments branched virgate, Branch. alternately pinnated, Branchlets short multifid, Theca sessile ovate
 15245 Filam. much branched covered with heterogeneous hair-like simple branchlets, Artic. very short obsolete

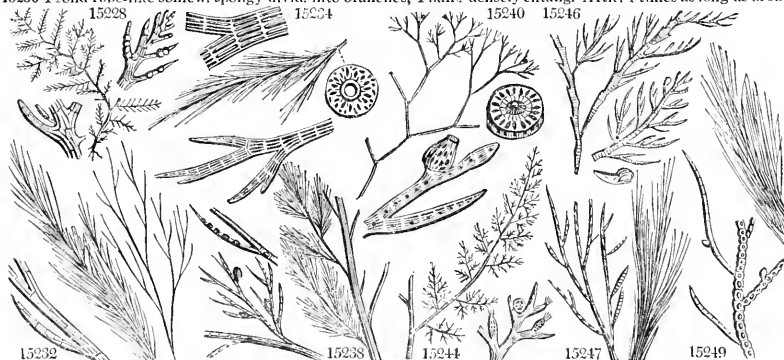
- 15246 Frond somewhat cartilaginous compressed transversely rugose bipinnated, Pinnules in fruit incurved

- 15247 Filam. nearly separate, Branches erect subulate, Artic. rather longer than broad, Pods linear subulate

- 15248 Filam. much branched very fine, Branches and branchlets opposite spreading attenuated acute, Artic. half as long again as broad

- 15249 Filam. much branch. Branches scatt. spread. taper. ac. : at tips hyal. Artic. as long as broad finally tumid

- 15250 Frond rose-like somew. spongy divid. into branches, Filam. densely entang. Artic. 4 times as long as broad



and Miscellaneous Particulars.

Hutchinsias, not being aware that the name of Miss Hutchins had previously been applied to a genus of Cruciferae, by Mr. Brown. The species of this genus are, perhaps, the most beautiful of all the tribes of Conferva.

2300. *Rytiphleca*. So called, it is presumed, from *γυρίς*, a wrinkle, and *φλέω*, to be filled with any thing. The filaments are particularly characterized by their numerous transverse rugosities.

2301. *Ectocarpus*. From *εκτος*, outside, and *καρπος*, fruit, because the theca are not included in the substance of the frond, as in the next genus, but placed on the outside. Marine plants.

Section 3. *Ovarium solitary. Placenta central.*

ORDER XX. CARYOPHYLLÆÆ.

These consist of herbs or low undershrubs, inhabiting the mountains and pastures of all parts of the world. In Europe and Siberia they are particularly abundant, and least so in Africa and South America. Many are common weeds, as most of the *Cerastiums*, *Spérghulas*, and others. Several of the *Silènes* are very ornamental, and among the *Arenárias* are to be found some dwarf species of considerable elegance. But it is in *Dianthus* that the pride of the order consists: this genus is almost unrivalled for the brilliancy of its colors, the neatness of its foliage, and the perfume of its flowers. From the finest of its species the title of the order has been derived. The virtues of *Caryophyllææ* are slight. *Saponária officinalis*, and one or two others, have been praised for possessing antispasmodic properties; the root of *Silène virginiana* is reputed anthelmintic; and the *Arenária peploides*, being fermented, is used by the Icelanders for food.

Tribe 1. *SILENÆÆ.*

1044 <i>Gypsophila</i> W.	1017 <i>Cucubalus</i> L.	1065 <i>Agrostemma</i> W.
1046 <i>Dianthus</i> W.	1048 <i>Silène</i> L.	604 <i>Velúzia</i> W.
1045 <i>Saponária</i> W.	1067 <i>Lýchnis</i> W.	687 <i>Drypis</i> W.

Tribe 2. *ALSINÆÆ.*

91 <i>Ortégia</i> W.	931 <i>Elátine</i> W.	1070 <i>Spérghula</i> W.	1050 <i>Arenária</i> W.
311 <i>Buflonia</i> W.	225 <i>Mollugo</i> W.	1069 <i>Larvíra</i> St. Hil.	1068 <i>Cerástium</i> W.
319 <i>Sagina</i> W.	691 <i>Pharnaceum</i> W.	1049 <i>Stellaria</i> W.	1051 <i>Cherléria</i> W.
950 <i>Muehringia</i> W.	220 <i>Holóstium</i> W.	688 <i>Alsine</i> W.	

ORDER XXI. LINEÆÆ.

Separated by M. Decandolle from *Caryophyllææ*, from which it is well distinguished by its fruit having several cells, or in the language of the botanist just named, being formed by the cohesion of several carpella. Most of the species are pretty plants, bearing yellow, blue, or white flowers. They are of immense importance in the world, on account of the tenacity of their fibres when made into flax. The seeds of common flax are between mucilaginous and oily; the leaves of *Linum cathárticum* and *L. selaginoides*, the latter a native of Peru, are purgative.

701 <i>Linum</i> W.	321 <i>Radiola</i> Sm.
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ORDER XXII. FRANKENIACEÆ.

Distinguished from *Caryophyllææ* by the fruit not having a central separate placenta, but bearing the seeds on the inner margin of the valves. The species are natives of arid situations in Europe, Africa, and South America. They have not much beauty, and no known medical properties. Besides the genus here recorded, there are two others mentioned by M. Decandolle.

835 *Frankénia* W.

ORDER XXIII. MALVACEÆ.

Before this order was dismembered from *Bombacææ* and *Byttneriaceæ*, it contained most of the grandest flowers in nature. Even now, the splendour of the various species of *Málva*, *Althæa*, to which the hollyhock belongs, and *Hibiscus*, renders it one of the most remarkable groups of plants. With the exception of the numerous genus *Sida*, nearly all *Malvaceæ* are objects worthy of the gardener's care, particularly those which are hardy. In stoves or greenhouse, the softness of their branches and leaves render them peculiarly liable to the attacks of the red spider, mealy bug, and scale, from which few collections are free; a circumstance which makes them less generally esteemed than the surpassing beauty of many of them merits. The greater part of the order is clothed with stellate pubescence, and a reniform one-celled anther is a character common to the whole. These two peculiarities, together with the alternate stipulate leaves, distinguish *Malvaceæ* from all the rest of *Dichlamydeæ*. All the species abound in a nutritive mucilage; a quality which renders the young heads of the *Ochro*, or *Hibiscus esculentus*, an object of great value within the tropics, as an ingredient in soups. In Brazil, the *Abutilon esculentum* serves the same purposes. The emollient properties of *Althæa officinalis*, or *Guimauve* of the French, are well known to physicians, as a remedy for catarrhs and pulmonary complaints. A decoction of the leaves of *Sphérálea cispaltina* is used for similar objects in Brazil. A species of *Pavónia* is employed in the same country as a diuretic in the form of a decoction. The straight shoots of *Sida micrantha* are employed as rocket-sticks at Rio Janeiro. The chewed leaves of *Sida carpinifolia* allay the inflammation occasioned by the stings of wasps. The tough fibres of many *Malvaceæ* are manufactured into cordage. Their petals are astringent; whence those of *Hibiscus Rôsa sinensis* are used in China to blacken the eyelashes and the leather of shoes. The fibrous threads in which the seeds of *Gossypium* are enveloped furnish the valuable cotton, an article of immense importance to the world; these threads when examined by the microscope, will be seen to be finely toothed, which explains the cause of their adhering together with greater facility than those of *Bombax* and several *Apocineæ*, which are destitute of teeth, and which cannot be spun into thread without an admixture of cotton.

1471 <i>Málope</i> W.	1476 <i>Maláchra</i> W.	1487 <i>Sida</i> W.	1482 <i>Redoutéa</i> Vent.
1472 <i>Málva</i> W.	1477 <i>Urúcia</i> W.	1478 <i>Pavónia</i> W.	1483 <i>Palávia</i> W.
1475 <i>Lavátéra</i> W.	1484 <i>Cristária</i> Cav.	1479 <i>Achávia</i> W.	1488 <i>Laguónia</i> W.
1474 <i>Althæa</i> W.	1485 <i>Anódia</i> Cav.	1480 <i>Hibiscus</i> W.	1481 <i>Gossypium</i> W.
1473 <i>Kitaibélia</i> W.	1486 <i>Periptera</i> Dec.		

ORDER XXIV. BOMBACEÆ.

Distinguished from the last by the indurcate aestivation of the calyx, and the arrangement of the stamens in five sets, or, in Linnæan language, brotherhoods. The species are mostly fine trees with large showy flowers, and natives of the tropics. Some of them are among the largest trees in the world; *Adansônia*, the Baobab of Senegal, has been seen with a diameter of twenty-five feet, and specimens of *Bombax Ceiba*, and *Eriodéndron anfractuósum*, are not uncommon an hundred feet in height. The wood of all the species is light and soft, as in *Malvaceæ*, from which this order probably does not differ in its medicinal properties.

1458 <i>Ochróma</i> W.	1490 <i>Carolínea</i> W.	1492 <i>Bombax</i> W.
1466 <i>Helictres</i> W.	1491 <i>Adansônia</i> W.	1493 <i>Myródia</i> W.

ORDER XXV. BYTTNERIACEÆ.

Much the same kind of plants as those of the two last orders, from which they were not formerly distinguished; and from which they scarcely differ, except in their bilocular anthers. Many of the *Stercúliæ* are fine umbrageous trees, the seeds of which are large and eatable; especially those of the famous *Kola*, which possess the property, being chewed, of rendering bad water pleasant to the palate. The seeds of the *Chicha*, another and very noble species of the genus, are highly esteemed in Brazil for the desert. *Astrapea*, and several other genera related to it, are among the most beautiful in the world. The flowers of a species of *Pentapétis*, called by the Indians, *Machuvunhá*, give out a mucilaginous refrigerant juice, which is employed in gonorrhœa. *Guazúma ulmifolia* has its fruit filled with a pleasant mucilage, which is sweet and very agreeable; an extract of the bark of the same plant is used in Martinique to clarify sugar; its old bark is

GLOSSARY

OF

TERMS USED IN THE GENERIC AND SPECIFIC DESCRIPTIONS, IN THE GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE CLASSES, AND IN THE NOTES.

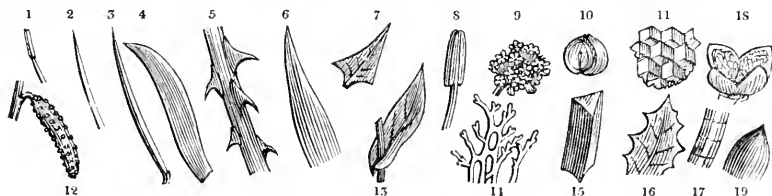
The figures between parentheses () refer to the engravings at the bottom of the page.

After each term a reference is given to an example of its application in the body of the work : in these references, g. signifies genus, s. species, p. page.

A.

A, in composition, signifies without, as *Aphyllus*, without leaves ; *Acaulis*, without stem. s. 1339.
Abbreviate abbreviare, to shorten. Used in comparative descriptions, to indicate that one part is shorter than another. *Salvia crassifolia*, s. 420.
Aberrant, deviating from the natural or direct way ; applied in Natural History to species or genera that deviate from the usual characters of their neighbours. p. 408.
Abortion (1) signifies an imperfect development of any given organ. *Cephalanthus*, g. 275. p. 78.
Abraded, rubbed or worn off. *Acácia*, g. 2127. (note.)
Abstrergent, cleansing, having a cleansing quality. *Sapindus*, g. 926. (note.)
Accessory, something added to the usual number of organs, or their parts. *Phalaris*, g. 168. p. 32.
Accretion, the growing of one thing to another. p. 748.
Accumbent, lying on, prostrate, supine ; this term is employed in Crucifera, to signify a radicle, which lies upon the edge of the Cotyledons. p. 536.
Acrose, (2) needle-pointed ; fine and slender, with a sharp point. *Banksia pulchella*, s. 1449.
Acetous, sour, tart, acid. *Pinguicula*, g. 52. (note.)
Acetartious, any thing belonging to the salad tribes of vegetables. *Lactuca*, g. 1628. (note.)
Acclous, something that produces acidity. *Triticum*, g. 206. (note.)
Acicular, (3) needle-shaped. *Leptospérmum triloculare*, s. 6931.
Acinaciform, (4) scimitar-shaped. *Ehrháta*, g. 754. p. 258.
Acini, the small stones in grapes, strawberries, &c. *Cecropia*, g. 2043. (note.)
Aculeate, (5) being furnished with aculei or prickles, as distinguished from spines. *Spartina polystachya*, s. 920.
Aculei, prickles, sharp hard processes of the epidermis falling off when old ; by which character they are distinguished from spines, which do not fall off. *Medicago murex*, s. 10910.
Acuminatè, (6) taper-pointed. *Canna indica*, s. 2.
Acutangular, (7) having sharp angles. *Córchorus acutangulus*, s. 7722.
Adnate, (8) adhering to a thing. Anthers are called adnate when they are attached to the filament by their whole length. *Anthoxanthum amárum*, s. 498.
Adult, the full-grown of any thing : full-grown leaves are adult leaves. *Protea obtusa*, s. 1318.
Æruginis, having a color like that of ærugo or verdigris. *Curcúma æruginosa*, s. 82.
Agglomerated, collected in a heap or head. *Æcidium Jacobææ*, s. 16669.
Aggregate, (9) gathered together ; usually applied to a dense sort of inflorescence. *Calyménia aggregata*, s. 570.
Agrumi, a name given by the Italians to any kind of lemons or oranges. *Citrus*, g. 1615. (note.)
Akenium, (10) a hard pericarpium, containing a single

seed, which does not adhere to it ; it is the same as the Linnean *nut*. *Hippophaë*, g. 2058. p. 817.
Albumen, the substance under the inner coat of the testa, surrounding the embryo ; it is sometimes absent. *Réseda*, g. 1102. (note.)
Alenbick, a vessel used in distilling, or acting like a still. *Phœnix*, g. 2049. (note.)
Alexipharmic, that which counteracts poisons, antidotal. *Maránta*, g. 2. (note.)
Alexiteric, having the power of doing away poisons. p. 1065.
Alkalescent, having the properties or effects of alkali. *Rúmex acetosa*, g. 856. (note.)
Alkali, any substance which, when mingled with acid, produces fermentation. *Viola*, g. 540. (note.)
Alveolate, (11) resembling a honeycomb. *Borkbaúsia*, g. 1637. p. 661.
Alvine, of or belonging to the intestines. *Acácia*, g. 2127. (note.)
Amentum, (12) a catkin ; mode of inflorescence. *Apogoneton*, g. 854. p. 240.
Amplexicaul, (13) stem-clasping ; the base of the leaf surrounding the stem. *Céstrum auriculátum*, s. 2465.
Amylaceous, having the properties of starch. p. 1065.
Anastomosing, (14) uniting, or inoculation, of vessels. *Cinchidotus*, g. 227. p. 896.
Androgynous, producing both male and female sexes on the same root, or in the same flower. *Uncinia*, g. 1949. p. 768.
Anfractuose, full of turnings and winding passages. *Ochróma*, g. 1458. p. 560.
Angular, (15) composed of, or furnished with, angles. *Lopézia coronata*, s. 103.
Angulo-dentate, (16) angularly toothed, or angular and toothed. *Lapsana communis*, s. 11324.
Annulations, (17) rings or circles. *Rivulária*, g. 2270. p. 925.
Anterior, growing in front of some other thing. *Ilákea acanthophýlla*, s. 1434.
Anthelmintic, capable of killing worms. *Geoffróya*, g. 1517. (note.)
Antheriferous, (18) bearing anthers. *Lopézia*, g. 18. p. 1.
Antiaphrodisiac, any thing which checks the desire of sexual intercourse. *Vitex*, g. 1517. (note.)
Anti-pestilential, efficacious against pestilence. *Angélica*, g. 664. (note.)
Antiphrasis, the use of words in a sense opposite to that of some neighbouring parallel sentence. *Globulária*, g. 260. (note.)
Anti-scorpulous, antiscorbutic ; efficacious against scurvy. *Cynoglossum*, g. 556. (note.)
Antiseptic, efficacious against putrefaction. *Artemisia*, g. 1721. (note.)
Aperient, having a slight purgative quality. *Curcúma*, g. 14. (note.)
Apetalous, being without petals. p. 1.
Apex, (19) the summit ; generally applied to any thing terminating in a point. *Thália dealbata*, s. 26.
Aphrodisiac, any thing which excites a desire for sexual intercourse. *Justicia*, g. 47. (note.)



Page	No. to Genera.	British or Systematic Synonymes.	English Names.	French	German.
716	<i>A'nica L.</i> 1749	- - - -	- - - -	Le doronic	Die wolverley
696	<i>Artemisia L.</i> 1721	- - - -	Wormwood	L'absinthe	Der wermuth
	<i>A. Dracunculus L.</i> sp. 11739	- - - -	Tarragon	Estragon	Dragonkel
280	<i>Arthropodium R. Br.</i> 810	Anthéricum			
770	<i>Artocarpus L.</i> 1935	- - - -	Bread fruit	Le jaquier	Der brodbaum
800	<i>A'rura L.</i> 2006	- - - -	Wake robin	Le gouet	Der aronswurz
74	<i>Arundinaria Mx.</i> 219	- - - -	Cane-brake		
60	<i>Arundo With.</i> 175	- - - -	Reed	Le roseau	Das rohr
592	<i>A'sarum L.</i> 1072	- - - -	Asarabacca	L'asarot	Die haselwurz
196	<i>Asclepias L.</i> 588	- - - -	Swallow-wort	L'asclépiade	Die seidenfrucht
658	<i>A'scyrum L.</i> 1618	Hypéricum			
480	<i>Asimina Adan.</i> 1223	Anona			
506	<i>Aspilathus L.</i> 1528	- - - -	African broom	L'aspalat	Witschen
282	<i>Aspidragus L.</i> 816	- - - -	Sparrowgrass	L'asperge	Der spargel
124	<i>Asperugo L.</i> 342	Wild bugloss	German madwort	Le porte-feuille	Das scharf kraut
94	<i>Asperula L.</i> 268	- - - -	Woodruff	L'asperule	Das megerkraut
580	<i>Asphodelus L.</i> 808	- - - -	Asphodel	L'asphodèle	Der affodil
	<i>A. luteus L. sp. 4793</i>	- - - -	- - - -	Bâton-de-Jacob	
	<i>A. ramosus L. sp. 4795</i>	- - - -	King's rod	Bâton royal	
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